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The Woodlands: A "Matchless Place"

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THE WOODLANDS: A "MATCHLESS PLACE"

TIMOTHY PRESTON LONG

A THESIS

in

The Graduate Program in Historic Preservation

Presented to the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

1991

Christa Wilmanns-Wells

Christa Wilmanns-Wells, Lecturer, Historic Preservation
Advisor

Ruth O'Brien

Ruth O'Brien, Lecturer, Historic Preservation
Reader

David G. De Long

David G. De Long, Professor of Architecture
Graduate Group Chairman

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PREFACE

The story of The Woodlands is one of the most intriguing--but never fully told--sagas in Philadelphia's landscape and architectural history. What coalesced to bring about the creation of this splendid Schuylkill River estate, in the 18th century, and the circumstances surrounding the transformation of the site into "one of the most romantic rural [cemeteries] within many miles of Philadelphia," in the 19th century, makes a noteworthy narration in itself.¹ The preservation of The Woodlands as a modified family retreat and rural cemetery was suited to the needs a rapidly changing society in an industrial urban center. This transformation is of great interest and importance to the understanding of landscape gardening development in the 19th century. The Woodlands Cemetery, moreover, presaged and even abetted the development of Fairmount Park. The Woodlands Cemetery's important part in the formation of Fairmount Park, indeed, has been overlooked as has its significant role as a continuing legacy to forest reservations in the State of Pennsylvania. All of these research findings and their considerations will give structure to this essay.

The following monograph on The Woodlands necessarily involved an exploration of the changes in and on the land. To be enabled to do so, required close examination and reliance upon first hand accounts of those individuals who

effected alterations and innovations at The Woodlands. Until 1990 only a portion of William Hamilton's correspondence, relating to his pioneering efforts in landscape gardening and architecture on his Schuylkill River plantation, had been analyzed and published. Most printed surveys of Hamilton's activities at The Woodlands were but brief overviews. Some accounts only attempted to look at particular aspects of William Hamilton's work on his country seat. My efforts have concentrated on assembling and integrating the totality of William Hamilton's extant letters and his contemporaries' descriptions in order to form a more comprehensive view of The Woodlands and its place in the annals of Philadelphia cultural landscape history. In the process of accomplishing an in depth look at The Woodlands, certain discrepancies, omissions, and misinterpretations that have been perpetuated in secondary sources, have been emended. By rewriting and expanding upon past chronicles of William Hamilton and The Woodlands, a more thorough understanding of this site as a magnificent family haven permitted a more considered approach to the study of ensuing reformation of the land.

With unbelievably good fortune, I was able to locate the early records of The Woodlands Cemetery Company, which had been thought lost until this time. Perhaps even more fortuitous, was my uncovering of Eli Kirk Price's log notes and reports covering the first formative years of the

Cemetery's operation. With these in hand, a very personal regard for the old Hamilton park and garden was revealed which permitted the assembly of an almost uninterrupted first hand account of men's actions and responses to one parcel of ground and its landscape features over the span of one hundred years.

In early 1991, I was afforded the opportunity to read the journal which Eli Kirk Price had prepared as a keepsake for his grandson. In this very personal record, begun on April 12, 1876, and concluded on October 27, 1884, was found the tangible link between Price's work at The Woodlands and his labors to "accomplish a future good [for] all who shall live in or visit Philadelphia" by expanding and adorning Fairmount Park.² The journal also disclosed that he "was active and efficient [in] his exertions in behalf of the Centennial Exhibition" which he found suitably sited in Fairmount Park on the old pleasure grounds of Lansdowne and Solitude.³ Eli K. Price's poignant observations as he paid his first visit to the Exhibition on May 30, 1876, were illustrative of his feelings about these old family retreats of the early republic and--by extension--how he saw them as transformed celebratory landscapes incorporating man-made, commemorative Centennial places for the "gratification and instruction of the people."⁴

Since the organization of material in the following

Woodlands. The Woodlands bears witness to the changing landscape's ability and function to afford healthful situations, to offer contemplative recreation and to restore the soul of owners and visitors alike.

The chronicle of William Hamilton's and Eli Kirk Price's ministrations at The Woodlands will be examined as reflections of evolving American attitudes toward the landscape and man's modeling of it. The introduction will acquaint the reader with Philadelphia City and County and with occurrences which affected the use of the Schuylkill River's edge from 1769 through 1869. The first chapter of the thesis will detail 18th century English landscape and architectural influences which assisted in the establishment of the country seats along the banks of the Schuylkill River. Here, particular attention will be paid to the manifestations of those influences at The Woodlands. Chapter Two examines William Hamilton's personal attachment to his rural retreat as a unified whole serving himself and his family. The third chapter functions as a bridge in that it explains the English picturesque garden in relation to 19th century institutions. Emphasis is placed on the English landscape garden and the French adaptation of the English garden form for extra-urban burial grounds as the root of the rural cemetery in the United States. Chapter Four is devoted to detailing the transformation of The Woodlands into a rural cemetery.

chapters did not allow inclusion of the Centennial passages from Price's journal, I take the liberty of inserting a portion here.

I paid my first visit for inspection to the Exhibition: passed once through the Main Building, Agricultural and Horticultural Halls the [?] and Mechanical Buildings. It was but a preliminary glimpse. I also rode round by the steam train. The first effort was to realize this center of the world's art and riches: These industrial and art palaces and rural dwellings and gardens, as the fields and groves, that as Chairman of Land Purchases, I had but a few years ago, acquired for the Fairmount Park; before then seldom visited Solitude, where only the forces of vegetative nature had continued to augment the size of the trees now the chief glory of the Park.

I must know more before I can describe anything on exhibition. The one thing that most touched my feelings today was to see the many invalids and delicate persons wheeled through the halls; persons who would not have come out; perhaps not left their chambers, but for the power of the attraction here presented, but now without fatigue, and with benefit, enjoying fully the most beautiful and interesting objects on the face of the earth. Yes, and the aged, who had ceased to expect to look upon things of beauty here, were once more enchanted before they shall see the only higher glories.⁵

It is fitting that this statement is included at the very beginning of this story for within it lies the essence of the thesis. The thesis, focused on a place of significance in the Philadelphia landscape, presents fresh historical data under-girding the ideal that the art of nature and the works of man can be united in both theory and practice. An abiding love of the land--as felt and recorded by the owners--became apparent throughout the study of the history of The

Within this account, Eli Kirk Price's blossoming interest in the landscape is examined to shed light on his seminal exertions for Fairmount Park. The conclusion will bring the reader almost full circle, back to a portion of what had been William Hamilton's plantation, and to the very edge of the old park and garden where the University's Botanic Garden took form.

Before launching into the body of this work, I will borrow a statement from Eli Kirk Price and use it to describe what I feel about this thesis. The exercise "though very onerous, and taking nearly half my time has been a pleasurable one to me in the consciousness" that I have never told a more significant story.⁶ In relating the tale of The Woodlands, "my enthusiasm was kindled and my labor has been an unceasing love."⁷

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In recognizing all of the institutions and individuals who assisted me in this written venture, it is only fitting that I thank posthumously two men, William Hamilton and Eli Kirk Price, for committing their thoughts to paper. Without their records, this narrative of The Woodlands could not have come about. In addition, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania must receive my gratitude for preserving the papers of the two men in their collections. Of course, other research facilities provided much needed background materials and images in various media. In accumulating these, I wish to thank the staffs of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; the American Philosophical Society; the Athenaeum of Philadelphia; the Boston Public Library; the City of Philadelphia Archives; the Dietrich American Foundation; the Free Library of Philadelphia; the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Lancaster County Historical Society; the Library Company of Philadelphia; the Library of Congress; the Massachusetts Historical Society; the National Archives, Mid-Atlantic Branch; the New York Historical Society; the Santa Barbara Museum of Art; and the University of Pennsylvania Archives.

I would also like to thank Philip Price, Jr. for his sincere interest in my work. It was with his kind permission that I was able to use his great-great grandfather's written

documents. A special thanks must go to Rob Fitzgerald whose keen eye recognized a sketched plan of The Woodlands mansion in an early 19th century diary. That information led to a very essential description of The Woodlands which was more detailed than any account yet found.

Charles E. Peterson and the late John M. Dickey both offered me encouragement when I began my study of The Woodlands several years ago. Both gave unselfishly of their time and knowledge of The Woodlands' architectural history. Elizabeth McLean shared her research of The Woodlands garden and allowed me to borrow, from her library, gardening books that would otherwise not have been available to me. Dave Orr, and the National Park Service Archeology staff gave assistance in locating lost buildings at The Woodlands. To each of these individuals and countless others I am obliged.

My deep gratitude must be expressed for the aid of Christa Wilmanns-Wells during the assembly of this thesis. Her encouragement and guidance proved invaluable. To Christa, also, I am indebted for my appreciation of the American landscape and its role in people's lives. Ruth O'Brien gave me instruction in how to observe landscape features as clues to the land's past. She was also kind enough to read this thesis and give her comments.

Finally, I thank my wife, Judy. Without her patience and help this thesis could not have been completed.

INTRODUCTION

In the 18th century, the verdant bluffs along the Schuylkill River provided some of the most enticing and picturesque vistas within a convenient carriage ride's distance of the City of Philadelphia. As the city prospered, following the French and Indian War (1763), more families of affluence and social prominence were lured to the Schuylkill's sylvan banks acquiring parcels of land and establishing country seats to which they could retire for summer pleasure. These landed estates along the river provided opportunities for relaxation and entertainment with the shade of established canopy trees and with cooling breezes wafting across the water's surface, amenities which were unavailable to families in their city residences. Upon these estates, gentlemen pursued pleasures of estate management patterned after those of the English gentry whose lifestyles they chose to emulate.¹

Philadelphia's men of means employed themselves vigorously in applying the latest in English aesthetic judgement to improving the landscape at their country seats. The execution of English architecture and landscape gardening theory upon one's land was considered an eminently suitable pursuit for upper class gentlemen.² After siting and planning the family's summer residence for convenience and enjoyment, the task of molding the land to accentuate the

refreshing aspects of the natural landscape surrounding it became a consuming pastime.

These pleasant activities came to an abrupt halt for the Philadelphia elite with the onset of hostilities with England. During the war it was a task just to retain accumulated wealth much less to keep up an estate's groomed appearance. Outlying estates suffered substantially during the British occupation of Philadelphia. Fortifications were thrown up, dwellings and dependencies burned, and wood lots stripped for fuel as shortages increased. When the British troops evacuated Philadelphia, any family whose wealth and land remained intact was suspected of treachery and it was not uncommon for their estates to be confiscated in consequence.

The Schuylkill River estates, although marred by war, were slowly mended and improved after peace with England was formalized. Croplands and grazing fields were restored to production to support the needs of the reviving estates. Signs of return to times of enjoyment of the Schuylkill River homes were evidenced in the renewed interest in building and land manipulation.³ Contemporary English landscape gardening theory, architectural innovations and agricultural practices began to appear once more in Philadelphia and their influence on men, who had held onto their wealth and who possessed inquiring minds, became visible.⁴

The landed Philadelphia gentry displayed a new attitude toward the land. Interest in landscape design for pleasure grounds and ornamental farms, along with designs for associated domestic structures, took on nationalistic overtones.³ Philadelphians whose wealth permitted leisure pursuits expressed desires to introduce new concepts that would be of benefit to themselves as well as to their country. The river plantations, although always in year round operation, often became the families' abode for more than the summer season. With increased habitation came more intense experiments in new farming techniques, domestic architectural design, and landscape gardening. What once was viewed as a pastime for occasional pleasure took on more permanence with utilitarian focus.

The Schuylkill River estates had been, from their beginning, country retreats to which the Philadelphia elite moved from the discomforts and repugnant aspects of the bustling port city during oppressive summer months.⁴ During the last decade of the 18th century, this connection took on added significance as wealthy families fled to their rural plantations to escape the re-occurring yellow fever epidemics that swept the city.⁷ Most Philadelphians took flight from the city in attempts to reach the fresh, untainted air of the countryside. The families possessing homes along the Schuylkill found solace in the belief that the pure waters

of the river, coupled with groves which cleansed the air, offered them readily accessible protection.

By the early 19th century, more river homes were used as year round, primary domiciles. The appended meadows, croplands and wooded lots which once supported them, however, were slowly divided into parcels and either let or sold to independent farmers or husbandmen. Few estates retained the acreage once surrounding them, nor could they afford to do so after periods of war, depression, and failed land speculation. Under expansionist pressures the land became a commodity viewed for its monetary worth rather than for its intrinsic value.

The County of Philadelphia tripled in population between 1800 and 1840 with growth primarily centered in the city.⁹ Although the city's urban fabric barely reached Broad Street, there was increasing pressure upon the Schuylkill water shed. Pollution of the City wells, density of population, and fear of epidemics forced dependence on the Schuylkill for fresh water supplies.⁹ Industrial complexes expanded and commercial enterprises, seeking water power, congregated along the Schuylkill's tributaries and dotted the river with wharves. The Schuylkill's west bank and marsh meadows were leveled for rail lines.

Despoliation of the once pristine river's edge, along with threatened pollution of the city's water supply, alerted

a few farseeing men to the need for conservation measures. The Schuylkill River estates, no longer kept up as retreats for the wealthy and reduced to slim bands of land along each shore, were envisioned as protective swaths ensuring the flow of pure water to the waterworks.¹⁰ Due to the urging of concerned parties , the City began to acquire portions of the river's edge for this purpose.¹¹ The public soon adopted these as spots for recreation and refreshing relief from the hardening influences of city life.¹²

There were a number of other estate properties, lining the river, which had been purchased for their undiminished association with the cleansing and restorative powers of nature. The first of the City's rural cemeteries was established along the Schuylkill north of the water works on the estate of Robert Sims. The Almshouse, Almshouse Farm and Philadelphia Hospital were moved to property once part of William Hamilton's river plantation. Following the Civil War, in 1867, other river plantations were absorbed into the Fairmount Park system. A number of the notable 18th and 19th century river homes, their dependencies and grounds were saved from perishing as a result.¹³ By 1869, much of the aesthetically pleasing quality of the river's edge, which had originally drawn wealthy families to establish their retreats, was once more providing amusement, recreation and intellectual stimulus but to a much larger segment of the

population including those of modest means.¹⁴

From 1769 through 1869, an attraction to country delights persisted among the city's inhabitants which distinguished the natural landscape along the Schuylkill River as an object possessing attributes which continued to draw generations of people for physical and spiritual regeneration. This abiding allure sparked an awareness for the creation of Fairmount Park, one of the first and most expansive municipal public parks in the United States.¹⁵ The inspiration to set aside such a large natural area was derived, in part, from the public's captivation with the Philadelphia rural cemeteries which were established during the first half of the 19th century. The cemeteries, in turn, were indebted to the picturesque lure of the 18th century and early 19th century landscaped pleasure grounds of the river estates which had preceded them.

Rarely, in the United States, did these landscape developments demonstrate their linkage so clearly as they did in the Schuylkill River corridor. Yet more rare was the existence of one parcel of land where men's activities could be traced to the successive emergence of all three developments, namely, the private pleasure ground, rural cemetery and urban park. An uncommon example, to which all three developments could be traced, was found on the west bank of the Schuylkill River, upon a vestige of estate

property known as The Woodlands.

The Woodlands was one of the premier Schuylkill River plantations in the later period of the 18th century.¹⁶ It was renowned for the architectural innovations displayed by its dwelling and dependencies. The 600 acre estate was equally celebrated for the botanical collection of its proprietor and its landscaped pleasure ground covering approximately 10 acres. In the New Republic, the grounds were acknowledged as the purest example of contemporary English landscape gardening theory to be found in America.¹⁷

The Woodlands' fame endured and its influence on the development of American landscape design was recognized well into the mid-19th century.¹⁸ By the second decade of the 19th century, however, the grounds displayed signs of decline. William Hamilton, the proprietor of the Woodlands, had died in 1813, and by 1825 both his male heirs were dead.¹⁹ Hamilton's nieces, as the remaining family inheritors, had waning interest in maintaining the estate, and it passed out of the family ownership in a state of disrepair in 1828. In 1840, with the plantings of the park and pleasure ground at maturity, although unmanaged by a series of owners, "[the] land annexed to The Woodlands mansion" was "appropriated" to serve a new purpose.²⁰

The memory of The Woodlands' landscape park with its picturesque vistas of the Schuylkill had not been forgotten

by a few prominent men in Philadelphia. Believing that its proximity to the river and the grounds' association with peace and repose made it admirably adaptable as a rural cemetery, they purchased what still remained of The Woodlands.²¹ Incorporated as "The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia" on the thirteenth day of April 1840, the enterprise began its improvement program.²² With "comparatively small" expense, the grounds were returned to their prior matchless beauty and transformed almost effortlessly into a park for the living as well as a sacred "resting place of the dead."²³

By 1851, the Corporators were convinced that the Woodlands Cemetery had surpassed all other rural cemeteries of Philadelphia in attractiveness due to the "original character of the scenery" and the "natural advantages of the position [which] were improved by the highest skill of the landscape gardener [and], munificently aided by the tasteful proprietors."²⁴ They also believed that William Hamilton's mansion and dependencies were "appropriate to the purposes of the cemetery, harmonious in design and befitting the scene in which they [were] placed."²⁵ Reflecting with satisfaction upon their accomplishment in 1852, the Corporators congratulated themselves for "rescuing from destruction this beautiful park of ancient trees and diversified scenery."²⁶ It was to Eli K. Price, an original Corporator and principal

stockholder of the Woodlands Cemetery Company, that "the realization of the original design [was] due more than to any one else."²⁷ His memorandum in the Woodlands Cemetery records revealed his familiarity with the writings of both Loudon and Downing and his application of their principles to the layout of the cemetery.²⁸ His notes indicated close attention to those landscape features at the Woodlands that were "appropriate [for the] character of the scenery of our cemetery."²⁹ Eli K. Price cautioned, however, that improvements could only be made "in proper subordination to the existing features of the place which were the original motive of its attraction and choice for the object to which it has been devoted."³⁰

The acknowledged attraction of the Woodlands appeared to increasingly influence Eli K. Price and awaken in him the conviction that the remainder of the Schuylkill estates merited preservation for the public's enjoyment and retreat. He clearly saw that, unlike New York's engineered Central Park, in Philadelphia, a park existed already in the contiguous naturalistic family refuges lining the river. In 1867, his fourteenth year of service as president of the Woodlands Cemetery Company, he became one of the first commissioners of the fledgling Fairmount Park. During that year, he prepared "most of the sections of the Park Act that were enacted in 1868 and which expanded the Park's

boundaries.³¹ Within the first three years of his service as park commissioner, in 1867-1869, he acquired most of the notable river estates north of the Waterworks and added them to the Fairmount Park system.³² What soon became one of this country's great public parks could then be seen as the hiatus of a journey which had begun with the concepts of the English country seat and its landscape garden. "Thus the Woodlands [was] nothing less than a crucial way station" on the pathway from the English inspired pleasure ground which was so admirably adapted to be a rural cemetery and, at the same time, was one of America's first really elegant public gardens or promenades.³³

I shall concentrate my attention in this study upon The Woodlands, exploring the man-made modifications to this Schuylkill River site that displayed changes in social, economic and political conditions existing between 1769 and 1869. The examination will follow the elements of a cultural landscape study by tracing the man-made landscape and associated artifacts. It will attempt to explain the cultural landscape components as reflections of conscious or unconscious beliefs of the individuals who made or used them and, "by extensions, the beliefs of the larger society to which they belong."³⁴ This will be accomplished, for the most part, by reviewing the existing Hamilton estate documents and letters along with The Woodland Cemetery Company's Minute

Books and writings of Eli K. Price.

In tracing the changes occurring at The Woodlands through time, it is first essential to examine the practice and theory of 18th and early 19th century British landscape gardening and architecture. The effects of British philosophy and style will be followed to Philadelphia and, through William Hamilton's letters, to their application at the Woodlands. The 19th century rural cemetery movement in Philadelphia will then be reviewed with emphasis upon its indebtedness to French cemetery reform and the British picturesque landscape garden. The influence of these on the transformation of the Woodland's pleasure grounds to a rural cemetery will be discussed directly through the writings of Eli K. Price. The conclusion will draw upon Eli K. Price's diary notations and published addresses in an attempt to indicate how activities at the Woodlands, namely its transformation from a private pleasure ground to a rural cemetery, foreshadowed his single-handed efforts to expand Fairmount Park by linking the Schuylkill River estates as a unified pleasure ground for the general public.

1. THE "ENGLISHNESS" OF THE COUNTRY SEAT IN PHILADELPHIA

During the latter half of the 18th century, the City of Philadelphia prospered and, in the British Empire, became the "second in size only to London".¹ Much of the city's thriving condition was due to the high volume of mercantile activity made possible by the city's proximity to north-south trade routes, inland river trade corridors and deep water anchorages along its Delaware River shoreline.² Understandably, the wealth and influence within the Philadelphia region resided with the merchant class who controlled import and export trade.³

While it was true that the merchants were men of means, having the wherewithal to live in any location of their choice, they tended to crowd their primary dwellings near the port, among lawyers, printers, physicians, shopkeepers, and artisans.⁴ As an indication of their affluence, however, they sought to distinguish themselves by building their residences on double lots or on corner parcels at the ends of rows. House exteriors were usually plain but their interiors displayed a richness and elegance of ornamentation comparable to that found in London townhouses.⁵

The mercantile aristocracy of Philadelphia, markedly Anglophile, was dependent on prevailing English concepts of style. To them building exquisitely appointed townhouses, modeled on fashions current in England, in a city where

imported artisans and building materials were expensive was a way of displaying class rank and power.⁶ The premier status symbol, however, was to build a country house to be used primarily for summer retirement. The country house was set off and surrounded by a landscape garden such as the English fashionable upper-class possessed in England.⁷ Just as the banks of the Thames River provided sites for London noblemen's country seats, the Schuylkill River's bluffs offered accommodating situations for the Philadelphia elite to establish their rural retreats.⁸ By the end of the 18th century, the Schuylkill River estates with their country residences and pleasure gardens had "turned the [river s edge] into an elegant stretch of landscape."⁹

Philadelphians, who did establish country seats, did more than merely fashion their lifestyle to emulate those of English squires and announce their elevated social standing. To the Philadelphia gentry, the establishment of country seats was one of many endeavors calculated to transport the civilizing elements of Europe, and specifically England, to Philadelphia.¹⁰ The urge to raise Philadelphia's level of refinement was stimulated by those who had traveled widely for commerce or pleasure as well as by the large number of the city's professional men who had studied medicine or law abroad and had become accustomed to European models of cultivation.¹¹ This emerging upper class, aside from forming

their fashionable country seats, had their sons and daughters instructed in a variety of genteel accomplishments; they sponsored artists, and promoted entertainment and sociability through attendance at concerts, theaters and dances.¹² In order to match English models of cultivation and to encourage participation in intellectual discourse on an international basis, they assembled libraries and art collections and founded learned and scientific societies.¹³

By 1769, Philadelphia had claimed its primacy as the cultural and intellectual center in America.¹⁴ The City's professional men, in that year, revived the American Philosophical Society which was

instituted for the express purposes of cultivating such branches thereof, as have an immediate tendency to advance the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of this country; as well as to pursue more deep and refined disquisitions in the field of nature.¹⁵

Also in 1769, the Union Library Company merged with the Library Company of Philadelphia, increasing holdings and making it "the largest public library in North America."¹⁶ These institutions along with the Academy and College of Philadelphia (the University of Pennsylvania) formed an intellectual support group for the upper class of the city and linked them with an international network of learned individuals and societies.¹⁷

While it was predominantly an English intellectual network of botanists that abetted horticultural development,

it was the Scottish, English, and to some degree, the French who contributed to Philadelphia's architectural development.¹⁸ Though the Philadelphia elite primarily followed British style in architecture and landscape, their literary taste and philosophical stimulation emanated from Scotland.¹⁹ To a large degree, Scottish philosophy and aesthetic judgement affected the direction taken by English fashion in architecture and gardening in Philadelphia from the mid-18th century to the second decade of the 19th century.²⁰

Scottish philosophy was introduced to Philadelphians by way of the Academy and College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) and through Scottish-American intellectual contact.²¹ The interest in things Scottish intensified with the immigration of skilled craftsmen and gardeners from Scotland who found ready employment in the wealthiest city of the American colonies.²² Scottish periodicals to great extent provided the models in form and idea for Philadelphia publications.²³ The Scottish-American ententes which began prior to the revolution, became more evident by the end of the 18th century with increased visibility in the first two decades of the 19th century.²⁴

It was during this period that the designs of two Scots, Robert and James Adam and those architects who expanded their concepts, began to guide English and consequently American

architectural style.²⁵ The Adam brothers' writings "parallel major theoretical concepts found at this time, and especially ones in contemporary Scottish thought."²⁶

In general, this theory was typical of advanced late Eighteenth century thought which combined remnants of Palladian-academic universals with newer romantic tendencies emphasizing individual taste and genius--the idea of artistic freedom and action independent of established conventions and rules--as well as stressing utilitarian and functional qualities.²⁷

Sterling M. Boyd, in his published dissertation, The Adam Style in America: 1770-1820, states that "the relation of Adam theory and design with specifically Scottish elements of thought assisted the spread of the Adam style in America."²⁸

The Adam brothers' postulates were analogous to critical and aesthetic theories of contemporary Scottish philosophers, especially, where discussion centered on the idea of beauty and its perception.²⁹ The sophists of the 18th century argued that only through the study of Nature could the idea of beauty or taste be formed. In addition, it was only through the abstract qualities found in Nature, that is, simplicity, unity, color, and movement that beauty could be judged.³⁰

Of these elements, it was simplicity that Scottish philosophers, David Hume and Lord Kames, deemed uppermost. Indeed, Lord Kames in his essay "On Gardening and Architecture" stated just that--"in architecture, simplicity

ought to be the ruling principle."³¹ Furthermore, it was his contention that if simplicity was not adhered to, then the achievement of unity or the "impression [that an object was] one entire whole," would be thwarted.³² The Adam brothers, friends of both philosophers, professed in The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam that they adhered to the idea of unified or harmonious designs and the necessity of "preserv[ing] greatness & simplicity of composition."³³

In effect, Robert Adam and fellow architects who built upon Adam style were declaring their departure from the rigidly defined and unchanging canons of the earlier Palladian style that was now considered "ponderous."³⁴ Adam believed that:

The great masters of antiquity were not so rigidly scrupulous, they varied the proportions as the general spirit of their composition required.³⁵

To reach a purer form, then, required that architects return and seek inspiration from the remains or ruins of antiquity. Only by re-examination of the ancient world and manner could the architect discern what was "simple, elegant & sublime" thus permitting him to create fresh forms in exterior design, novel interior spatial effects and proper arrangement of rooms for the privacy, comfort, and convenience of the occupants.³⁶

The new direction in landscape gardening that began in the early 18th century dovetailed well with architectural

emphasis on simplicity and unity that was finding favor by mid-century. English landscapists, as early as 1713, were beginning to advocate that gardeners should be guided by the "amiable simplicity of unadorned nature."³⁷ For the educated English upper-class, theorists and practitioners ideals of simplicity equated with Greek and particularly Roman pastoral life were made available through Alexander Pope's translation of Homer, Joseph Addison's version of Virgil, and by turning to Horace and other ancient writers.³⁸ From c. 1720 through c. 1810, in the three distinct English landscape garden phases, it was the simple and direct natural garden and imagined romantic rural scenery as interpreted through literature and painting, that provided the ideation for the private Elysiums and Arcadian landscapes that were created throughout the British Isles and subsequently in America.

Just as British gardenists were looking for rural classical precedent for their natural landscape gardens, architects following Adam style were paying attention to domestic Roman architecture, particularly country villas, which incorporated details that were "all delicacy, gaiety, grace and beauty."³⁹ Thus, in both English architecture and landscape gardening there was conscious effort to extrapolate ancient forms which would unite and balance art and nature in a new way. In architecture, a freedom from the defined rules as used by Andrea Palladio was sought so that an

artistic independence with flexibility of design could surface.⁴⁰ In English gardening, the more free, natural style was a reaction against the rigid formality and "contrived scenery" of the French and Dutch.⁴¹ John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis in The Genius of the Place stated that the English response:

was an endorsement of liberty and tolerance against tyranny and oppression. Democracy against autocracy. And it was expressed in every facet of the creative arts.⁴²

Because of these associations, there was perhaps all the more reason why English fashion and concepts in architecture and landscape gardening were embraced in America, and enthusiastically so in Philadelphia.

Reformed classicism and romanticism gained in appeal among English landowners for other than just political associations. Once more it was the literary influence of Virgil and other ancient writers that provided English proprietors with an agreeable image for themselves and their country estates. English translations accommodated the gentry's view that their rural retirement had classical precedent and authority.⁴³ Furthermore, the ancient texts supported their efforts to reclaim and improve the land for agriculture and forestry, these rural endeavors were equated with the virtuous occupations of self-sufficient Roman husbandmen.⁴⁴ This romantic association, which was becoming fashionable, naturally held much appeal for the English

country gentlemen whose wealth and prestige rested on their agricultural estates.⁴³

Of course, the gentlemen and noblemen whose "solvency depended upon taking agriculture and silviculture seriously." had an aesthetic dilemma.⁴⁴ "The uniform, rectangular hedges of parliamentary enclosures" which they had employed to bring old common fields into production ran counter to the increasing regard for rural pictorial beauty by mid-18th century.⁴⁵ Earlier in the century, however, utility and beauty were believed to coexist in the landscape of cultivation. Therefore, as common and marginal land was accumulated in private hands, reconciliation was made possible by "interpretations of estate scenery through a distorting pastoral mode."⁴⁶

Stephen Switzer, "Promoter of [a] Farm-like Way of Gardening" during the first half of the century, agreed with other gardenists "that variety is the greatest and most distinguishing Characteristick in any Country-Seat or garden."⁴⁷ The approach he took combined all of the elements of country life so that there was "a just agreement of the several parts one with another."⁴⁸ In his Ichonographia Rustica (1718 and 1742) he probably considered:

and why should not a judicious Mixture and Incorporation, of one with the other quite thro' a large estate, be of more value, as at or near the House a little more exactitude is required; so after that view is over one would sometimes be passing thro' little Padducks and Corn Fields, sometimes thro' wild Coppices, and Gardens, and

sometimes by purling Brooks and streams, places that are set off not by nice Art, but by luxury of Nature, a little guided in her Extravagancies by the Artists hand, while sometimes it may not be improper unexpectedly to fall into a little correct, and elaborate Garden; but as those should not be too often so, they ought not to be too large.³¹

The "Rural Gardens and plantations" he proposed were meant to afford the private gentleman "a continual profit and pleasure."³² Furthermore, these unified country-seats of no more than 600 acres, were based on simplicity so that "they are much cheaper made, and still cheaper kept."³³ For Switzer, "the Beauty of rural and extensive Gardening" exemplified the classical ideal uniting utility and profit with beauty and pleasure.³⁴

The prescription set up by Stephen Switzer was followed at a score of rural estates prior to mid-century. By 1745, however, William Shenstone's The Leasowes was perhaps the last major English aesthetic farm to be formed.³⁵ Even though Thomas Whately pronounced it merely a "grazing farm," Christopher Hussey suggested that The Leasowes:

was a shining example to the age of how well a small domain [some 300 acres] could be formed into a series of pictures.³⁶

Indeed, Shenstone, despite the smallness of his income, created forty stages along a winding walk leading round the estate.³⁷ The many visitors drawn there strolled:

round the garden, gazing, thinking, responding to the poetic stimuli of the natural landscape and of human memorials--statues, inscriptions and the like--scattered along the path.³⁸

In fact, Shenstone "embellished [The Leasowes] as a highly evocative landscape" and clearly meant to have visitors involve their minds as they explored the garden.⁵⁹

Of course "the pastoral amusement and the solemn meditation at the memorial", which Shenstone popularized at The Leasowes, was to re-appear, almost a century later, in the rural cemeteries of France, England, and America.⁶⁰ Perhaps one of the reasons the later 19th century funerary gardens appeared to evolve almost naturally from the English landscape garden form was that these gardens, from Shenstone's time forward, coupled scenes of "sweet melancholy" with those that were felicitous and uplifting.

Although the emblematic and memorial aspects of the garden endured, the concept of the *ferme ornee*, on the other hand, began to wane in importance even before Shenstone's death. By 1763, agricultural improvement and garden making had grown apart in England.⁶¹ Although the mixing of pleasure and profit in country life had lost much of its influence with British gardenists, American landowners, along the eastern seaboard, found the idea of uniting picturesque appearance and economical returns appealing. In fact, this aspect of landscape gardening was so well suited to the agrarian society of America, where rural life was thought to promote health, morality and republican virtue, that it

continued to be attractive to Americans into the 19th century.⁶²

The classical ideal of a union of utility and beauty, evinced in the landscape compositions of English estates like Southcote's Woburn and Shenstone's The Leasowes, was not distinctly expressed in English architectural forms until after mid-century. Once more, it was the Scottish philosophers who articulated the concept and the Adam brothers who made it take shape particularly in domestic architecture. Lord Kames, in 1762, stated that architecture was the "one art [which could] display the beauty of utility in the highest perfection."⁶³ It was therefore desirable, in domestic architecture, that buildings not only please the eye but be suited to their intended purpose by the form that they took.

The Adam brothers' house plans emphasized this desire for utility and beauty by using Roman geometric shapes and French planning.⁶⁴ Roman room shapes of circles, semi-circles, and rectangles were combined with oval forms of more modern introduction.⁶⁵ The synthesis occurred with the placement of these space-modeling shapes along a central axis, an interior arrangement explained in French works such as J. F. Blondel's Architecture Francaise. Robert Adam stated that the arrangement of "the apartments in the French style is best calculated for the convenience & elegance of

life."⁶⁶ By adhering to this planning mode, Adam was able to separate the more private living spaces from those rooms devoted to entertainment and public use while providing for ease of circulation through and between them.⁶⁷

The French interior planning approach had the additional advantage of engaging the landscape. With the main stairway removed to the side and separated from the central hall, a clear vista could be seen from this axial space.⁶⁸ Additionally, with projecting curved rooms pushing out from the villa's rectangular volume, expanded views of gardens and prospects could be had through those rooms' fenestrations.⁶⁹ In effect the interior spaces were being opened to the landscape and the dwelling became inseparable from it.

The incorporation of buildings within the landscape scene was understood as a crucial concept by architects and gardenists alike.⁷⁰ Only when viewed and combined in a painterly fashion could these natural and man-made elements be perceived as a coherent pictorial whole. In fact, it was the blending of architecture and scenery which was "at the heart of the picturesque movement."⁷¹ The critical relationship had been acknowledged by Stephen Switzer before mid-century when he advised:

When you first begin to build, and make Gardens,
the Gardener and the Builder ought to go Hand in
Hand, and consult together.⁷²

Robert Adam expressed his understanding of the crucial

connection when he wrote, c. 1773, of "Movement" in architecture and its correspondence in landscape gardening for the effective creation of picturesque compositions.⁷³

Movement is meant to express, the rise & fall, the advance & recess, with other diversity of form, in different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition. For the rising & falling, advancing & receding, with the convexity & concavity, & other form of the great parts, have the same effect in architecture, that hill & dale, foreground & distance, swelling & sinking have in landscape: that is, they serve to produce an agreeable & diversified contour that groups & contrasts like a picture & creates a variety of light & shade, which gives a great spirit, beauty, & effect to the composition.⁷⁴

In the same decade Thomas Whately succinctly expressed that there was an "intimate relationship between architecture and gardening."⁷⁵

In the later half of the 18th century Lancelot Brown, who dominated the landscape gardening scene, was not only aware of "the necessity of blending architecture and landscape gardening" but followed it in practice as well.⁷⁶ Brown, whose natural style of gardening and exposure of latent "capabilities" of a site was in evidence at a majority of the most important English seats, also planned a number of estate buildings.⁷⁷ Perhaps Lancelot Brown's endorsement of the interdependence of the two "polite arts" was evinced not simply through his practice of both but also by his partnership and collaboration with the respected architect, Henry Holland.⁷⁸

As the 18th century drew to a close, Brown's successor, Humphry Repton, was even more unshakable in the belief that "architecture and gardening [were] inseparable."⁷⁹ Like Brown, Repton collaborated closely with architects to achieve the "unity of design which makes a composition perfect."⁸⁰ Humphry Repton acknowledged that, until he sought the architectural assistance of his son in the "arrangement or disposition [of houses in various] situations, [he] met with continual difficulties."⁸¹ Perhaps the degree of Repton's commitment to the achievement of harmony of architectural and gardening parts to the whole was best demonstrated in the practice of his art during the last decade of the 18th century. It was then that he and architect John Nash joined in a successful five year partnership and, it was at that time, Humphry Repton began publishing his influential works on landscape gardening.⁸²

Although both Lancelot Brown and Humphry Repton viewed architecture as 'an inseparable and indispensable auxiliary' to landscape gardening, each signaled, in their turn, a further distillation of English gardening theory and practice. Brown's designs copied Nature so closely that his landscape scenes were criticized as being indistinguishable from those produced by Nature.⁸³ His work tended to remove the ploughed fields, stables, kitchen gardens, in effect all elements of a working, arable farm's appearance from

proximity to the estate's mansion.⁸⁴ Brown's open landscaped parks also banished from view most garden buildings, pavilions and architectural elements leaving only the house as a visible human touch in the landscape. His dammed, serpentine lakes, encircling belt of trees, gently undulating land forms, clumped plantings of oak or chestnut and the uninterrupted sweeps of grass right up to the edge of the house, all spoke of stabilized and tranquil natural landscape beauty.⁸⁵

Humphry Repton, although accused of mimicking Lancelot Brown's estate improvements, had a more flexible and practical approach to landscape gardening.⁸⁶ He reintroduced those transitional spaces around the house that Brown had eliminated.⁸⁷ The kitchen garden, raised flower beds, conservatories, gravel walks, terraces and trellis work were all admitted back into the immediate vicinity of man's habitation and once again served as:

logical extension[s] of the social spaces of the house and more convenient for [Repton's] clients who could use them more readily.⁸⁸

In discussing his rationale for pushing back Brown's park land and inserting small symmetrical flower gardens, near the front of buildings such as the green house, Humphry Repton quoted an extract from Lord Kames' essay "On Gardening and Architecture."⁸⁹ Since both 18th century English gardenists and architects appeared to have drawn authority from the

principles put forth by Scottish philosophers, it is not difficult to understand how the planned estates, through all phases of development during the last half of the 18th century, exhibited an overall sense of design continuity.

The incessant experimentation with ideas, incorporation of parts from predecessors' design approaches and mingling of ancient and new forms in both gardening and architecture was surely evidence of the artistic struggle to achieve more free and natural compositions which would be expressive of the human relationship with nature. In the second half of the 18th century, the succession of endeavors in landscape gardening becomes evident in the transition from Brownian to Reptonian theory and practice. In Brown's schemes the gentlemen's residence stood out as a singularly proud production of man's hand placed on an expanse of fine lawn. Conversely, the country house in Repton's schemes merged gradually and amicably into the landscape where both answered to human requirements.⁹⁰ Regardless of these two landscapists' different approaches, both design philosophies revealed the steady maturation of English landscape gardening and laid the groundwork for John Claudius Loudon's, "the most distinguished gardening author of the age," gardenesque ideas and his villa gardening.⁹¹

English architecture, in the later half of the 18th century, was following a similar course of progress and

refinement as that found in landscape gardening."² The influence of the Adam brothers' style, which reached its apex during the decade 1760-1770, was still having an impact upon the Adam brothers' successors in the last quarter of the century.⁹³ English architects such as John Soane, George Dance, John Plaw, the Wyatt brothers and a host of others were working with Adam themes but were aggressively transforming the Adam style by distilling and fusing Roman and Greek forms.⁹⁴ Greek architecture was beginning to contribute an array of elements and details to architects' vocabulary due, in part, to James Stuart's and Nicholas Revett's 1762 popular publication of The Antiquities of Athens.⁹⁵

Greek architecture became associated more with the simplicity that architects had been seeking to achieve and it thus began to temper the Roman character that had imbued and typified the Adam style. Designers such as Plaw and Soane began to develop their more severe manipulation of Adam style after 1774. Perhaps John Plaw's Belle Isle, a country house built on an island in Lake Windermere, Cambria, 1774-5, was one of the most notable examples of the increasing austerity in architectural design to be placed in a romantic natural setting.⁹⁶ (Figure 1 and 2) John Soane's simplistic naturalism or "primitive manner of building," which he merged with neoclassical elegance for the English gentry, was most

pronounced at Hammel's Park and expanded at Langley Park, Burn Hall, and Tendring Hall, all under construction during the 1780's."⁹⁷ (Figure 3)

These two architects were simplifying Adam compositions and reducing ornament while maintaining Adam concepts of planning, room shapes, and spatial effects. At the same time they were forging their own particular, personal styles based on classical form adapted to country living for ferme ornees, gentlemen's villas and rustic cottages. Soane's Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Buildings, (1788-89) and Plaw's Rural Architecture (1785) both illustrated the "sublimely simple house type."⁹⁸ Plaw's book, which depicted compact villas and simple cottages against scenic backgrounds, was the first and most popular publication to illustrate the picturesque rural ensemble.⁹⁹

Both Soane and Plaw continued to publish design books depicting country houses, villas and farm buildings into the last decade of the 18th century. Plaw's Ferme Ornee (1795) was a virtual pattern book for all manner of "rural improvements calculated for landscape and picturesque effects."¹⁰⁰ In 1800, the last of Plaw's publications, Sketches For Country Houses, Villas, & Rural Dwellings Calculated For Persons Of Moderate Income, And For Comfortable Retirement, appeared. John Plaw's Preface to this design book possibly contains the clearest indication

of the fusion of architecture and gardening during this period. Plaw says that:

This adapting of a House, [whether in the Greek or Gothic style], to its situation, I consider of so great importance, that I cannot resist the temptation of adding the judicious remarks of an ingenious and accurate mind on the propriety and fitness of character, or "proper Situations for an house."¹⁰¹

Plaw then goes on to insert a part of Humphry Repton's third chapter of Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening which he considers "a work of great taste and ingenuity."¹⁰²

The progressive designs, found in English architecture and landscape gardening, were available to Philadelphians who had closely followed English style before the war and continued to follow it when hostilities ceased. (See below, Endnote 104) By 1790, the more severe styles of John Soane and particularly John Plaw had begun to influence domestic architectural designs in Philadelphia and Charleston, two of the more receptive cities to advanced English designs.¹⁰³ The picturesque in English landscape gardening, particularly the variety that was defined by Thomas Whately in his Observations on Modern Gardening (1770) was introduced to Americans as the latest taste.¹⁰⁴ This treatise was one of the first comprehensive surveys of gardenist ideas and techniques and thus became "the standard work on the subject, serving as an invaluable reference for any man who wished to create a country estate in the English manner" in the last

quarter of the 18th century.¹⁰⁵

Whately's publication was not just "a comprehensive treatise on the aims, methods and achievements of landscape gardening" but also served as a guidebook to England's most heralded 18th century country estates.¹⁰⁶ Among those Americans who used it, in their tour of some of the estate gardens in England soon after the Revolution, was Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and William Hamilton.¹⁰⁷ No doubt, these prominent men of independent means were joined by fellow Americans who consulted Whately's and a host of other English tour books then available. What these Americans observed was the whole panoply of 18th century landscape gardening schemes, architectural stylistic changes and agricultural advancements put in practice to achieve picturesque and harmonious compositions.

America's gentry, some equipped with first hand knowledge of the deliberately irregular picturesque gardens and grand villas of the English country seats they had visited, enthusiastically resumed efforts to mold their "rural" seats in like manner and to incorporate the latest utility and beauty of English architectural fashion into their country dwellings. Privileged American landowners, however, seldom embraced any one particular taste of the picturesque nor slavishly adhered to any one architectural formula. Rather, these proprietors tended to choose from an

array of 18th century English architectural forms and patterns when building their manor houses. In so doing, they were surely seeking to define themselves and create a civilized pose in the countryside as well as making a patriotic statement and, at the same time providing for their family's comfort and requirements while dwelling in a pastoral retreat.

The practice of combining pleasing and useful features of the 18th century English domestic architectural fashion was occurring on American country estates in coastal areas up and down the Atlantic seaboard. The two story, three and five bay wide country houses, which were built and periodically remodeled to combine the most current in British design, bore witness to the cultural dependence on England before and following the War of Independence.¹⁰⁸ Although this reliance was unmistakably evident in these domestic structures and practical auxiliary buildings, the designs and subsequent alterations also displayed the strivings of the elite. These strivings expressed the efforts towards, and for, an architectural character which would respond to individual needs and aspirations in America. It was, therefore, understandable why a number of American country estate houses, built from 1770 through 1790, were not mere copies of published designs and patterns of English architects. Rather, they indicated an experimental attitude

that made use of older Palladian symmetry meshed with lighter Adam style decoration. Some American country dwellings, after 1785, even began to display the more simple and severe facades associated with John Soane and John Plaw.¹⁰⁹

Just as the privileged American landowners freely chose from a range of 18th century English architectural fashions, so too, did they select approaches to landscape design and composition that were unrestrained by adherence to any one English gardening phase. The American gentry, in fact, favored a course that mixed English practice in landscape gardening, which fit or was appropriate for the cultivated American wilderness, with designs which supported their self-sufficient rural living.¹¹⁰ It was not astonishing that well-educated American landowners, fully aware of the newest phase of English style, did not wholly employ Brownian concepts of landscape gardening. Eighteenth century America, after all, was naturally abundant with wild, untamed land in close proximity to the boundaries of many cities. Besides, in a young America so wedded to an agrarian philosophy, the dependencies, kitchen gardens, fields and pastures could not be pushed back beyond the sightlines of the plantation's house, as Lancelot Brown had advocated, if they were to be pragmatically useful.

The literate American gentry, men such as William Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, who possessed working arable

farms functioning as country estates, leaned toward a "middle ground" in landscape gardening.¹¹ They retained some formality near their dwellings, bordered their walks with flowers, and gave the immediate auxiliary buildings a consonant character worthy of architectural merit in a composed scene. With the assistance of the idea of "sunk fences" or ha-has, a landscape device popularized by the English architect William Kent it was possible to visually unite their fields and pastures with their country estates' parks and gardens. This general correspondence of everything together, this harmonic unity, composed with the pictorial effect in mind, harkened back to Stephen Switzer's proposals for "rural and extensive gardening" and William Shenstone's "farm-like way of gardening." (See page 8, this chapter) Indeed, numerous American country plantations could have been classified as *ferme ornees* in that their layouts combined the useful and profitable with the pleasurable.

Though many mid and late 18th century American rural estate owners combined older English landscape gardening aspects with the natural scenic richness of the American country side, they, unknowingly, were actually practicing what Humphry Repton was to propound in the last decade of the 18th century. In fact, the proximity of shrubs and flowers to dwellings, which Repton recommended, had long been considered necessary in America for domestic comfort and

enjoyment.¹¹² The integration of country houses and their dependencies with the convenient aspects and the utilitarian facets of English landscape gardening, was practiced by American proprietors of country seats. Indeed, they followed the precepts outlined by Repton in Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening (1795) before the English reconsidered it as a desirable picturesque gardening type.

The English architectural and landscape gardening theories and practices that have been noted above as influential in 18th century America by no means encompassed all that the American gentry were exposed to or absorbed through the numerous British publications. Even the few British picturesque estates, mentioned here, were only a minuscule sampling of the vast number of great country seats which landed gentlemen from the new republic visited and received impressions from. In this abbreviated survey the attempt was made to pinpoint some of the key theorists and practitioners in 18th century England of whom touring Americans were aware. The historical background presented above also traced the corresponding evolution of English 18th century architecture and English 18th century landscape gardening style which had such international appeal. Furthermore, this examination revealed that Americans were just as eager to adapt aspects of these revolutionary ideas as were the more culturally complex nations of Europe.

Few places in America were so impacted by the English style as was Philadelphia and its environs. On the country estates outside the city's limits and particularly on those situated along the Schuylkill River, the potency of British fashion could be witnessed in the dwellings, dependencies, kitchen gardens, pleasure grounds and landscaped parks. So much did the Schuylkill country estates resemble English 18th century patterns of domestic country living that they were recognized by a British journalist two centuries later for their similarities:

It is one of those odd accidents of history that the best illustrations of villa life as it was understood in England and developed along the banks of the Thames in the 18th century should exist in Pennsylvania, along the banks of the Schuylkill River a few miles from the centre of Philadelphia . . . Here on the little hills overlooking the river or tucked away in glades and groves are a number of houses that to an English visitor at least must immediately conjure up that semi-urban, semi-rural life so enjoyed by Horace Walpole's contemporaries in Richmond and Twickenham.¹¹³

Indeed, it was this very unmistakable English picturesque character and proximity to the city that, in the 19th century, made it so easy for social reformers of Philadelphia to "call in the country" and, almost without effort, adaptively develop these, once private, Schuylkill pleasure grounds of the privileged into sylvan places to which the urban public could retreat for tranquility and renewal.

Of course, the special "Englishness" of the country

seats, on the sylvan verges of the Schuylkill River, which 19th century Philadelphians found so transformable, was due to the conjunction of a number of elements in the 18th century that occurred solely in Philadelphia. As mentioned earlier, the elite's exposure to Scottish philosophy through the various institutions in the city had primed the literate gentry's acceptance of the novel English ideas in architecture and landscape. Since Philadelphia was also the acknowledged center of culture in 18th century America, it was only to be expected that the most current in English architecture and landscape fashion would be thoroughly subsumed. Moreover, in the young republic with Philadelphia as its national center, the classically inspired British style was especially congenial. The Romantic classicism of the Adam style along with the surmised pastoral and sylvan landscape of the antique world, found at the heart of English picturesque gardening, received ready acceptance among Philadelphians who wished to emulate the social, literary and artistic achievements of the Greek and Roman republics.

Then, too, there were additional factors which coalesced and propitiously assisted with the formation of the "classic English" country seats along the Schuylkill. The port city of Philadelphia experienced measurable growth in the second half of the 18th century, bringing wealth and the leisure time it made available to the merchant and professional upper

class. Those who benefitted from this economic surge, along with those men already affluent, sought country pleasures, gardenist entertainments and the "innocent Delights of plain simple Nature" upon their plantations.¹¹⁴ Here on the banks of the Schuylkill, Philadelphia gentlemen could immerse themselves in the most virtuous way of life, erecting their country villas and improving nature through advanced methods of husbandry and ornamental and botanical gardening in complete concert with Virgilian pastoral ideals.

But of the multitude of elements which fused to create the "English vision" along the Schuylkill, none may have been more essential than the alluring beauty of the natural landscape. All of the materials of nature, which Thomas Whately listed as vital for a picturesque composition, were already present along the full length of the river bounding the western edge of the City of Philadelphia and beyond.¹¹⁵ Undoubtedly, most wealthy Philadelphia landowners found that they could agree with the landscape observations of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

[since] nature had done greater things and furnished nobler materials there. . .we have only to cut out the superabundant plants [to create a natural garden].¹¹⁶

As the landed gentry opened commanding prospects by removal of wood, left clumps to "screen" or frame vistas, and carved out leafy precincts for sylvan bowers, they discovered, to their great satisfaction, that a noble garden and a

picturesque pastoral landscape could be made without great expense.

In truth, any of the delightful rural seats situated on the eminences overlooking the Schuylkill River, whether retaining some of the regularity of European gardens or engaging the naturalistic English style of landscaping, could be said to have been formed for pictorial effect. The compact English style villas and auxiliary buildings, too, participated in these composed scenes as the works of men to be viewed and approached as objects deliberately placed in nature. Furthermore, the dwellings, the habitations of men, were sheltered platforms from which to see nature's garden and the extended vistas that were framed by the house's fenestrations. Each of the Schuylkill River estates, then, should be examined, not as pure English reproductions, but as highly individualized American expressions of their owner's self-image tempered by English fashion. They were personal responses to the reality of country living and, whether conceived as ornamental or agrarian ensembles, were beloved family places intended for tranquil amusement and rural contemplation.

Of the "innumerable" placid sylvan and pastoral oases, along the picturesque riverside, several stand out as notable examples of American translations of English country seats.¹¹⁷ In 1761, John Macpherson's Mount Pleasant boasted of a

dwelling with flanking dependencies and construction features that broke with local building traditions but closely followed British pattern book illustrations of mid-century.¹¹⁸ As a year round plantation, Macpherson's estate included a working farm with fine orchard and wall enclosed kitchen garden. Though this working farm was integrated into the naturalistic setting along the Schuylkill, the introduction of a little formality was implemented in the immediate domain of the dwelling. Symmetry governed the dwelling and its dependencies while a classical terraced fall accentuated the buildings' controlled arrangement.

This practice of mixing some regularity with more irregular forms and features, appeared as the norm on the rural estates lining the Schuylkill. It spoke eloquently of the Philadelphia landed gentry's fervent individual efforts to discover the "genius" of their own places and "combine dulce with the utile" in both architecture and landscape gardening.¹¹⁹ John Macpherson said that Mount Pleasant contained "many genteel, regular and convenient buildings [and that its] situation is remarkably healthy and beautiful, and the convenience for fishing and fowling is excellent."¹²⁰ In so describing his country seat, he, no doubt, expressed the desirable conditions sought by other gentlemen at their rural retreats.

As Philadelphia approached the last quarter of the 18th

century, other country seats were established on the banks of the Schuylkill. Even William Penn's grandson, John Penn, chose to live in rural retirement and built his antebellum manor house overlooking the river.¹²¹ Penn's dwelling, Lansdowne, understandably, was one of the most grand of the river dwellings.¹²² The house, five bays in width, was fronted by a double portico with superimposed orders in two-story arrangement.¹²³ Two-story, three-sided bays thrust out into the landscape on each flank of the central block. (Figure 4 and 5) Elongated windows made available extensive views of the grounds and distant scenes from within. Lansdowne was, in fact, exhibiting some of the more current English and French architectural ideas that had begun to influence American buildings.

Naturally, other less sumptuous country houses had been or were in the process of being erected. Many were compact three bay wide houses, well crafted of local stone.¹²⁴ Even these unpretentious dwellings, situated in close proximity to the untamed wilderness that lined the Schuylkill, were testaments to the influence of emerging English design concepts for "rural dwelling calculated for persons of moderate income, and for comfortable retirement."¹²⁵ Woodford (c. 1756), The Cliffs (c. 1758) and Laurel Hill (c. 1767), were but a few of the homes built in this manner. But, whereas in Britain they may have been considered simple rural

domiciles, in America they were luxurious abodes placed in the country for seasonal enjoyment and summer refuge.

As the American colonies' war with England ignited and intensified, summer home construction and landscape gardening activities virtually ceased. Resumption of these pleasurable pastime and leisure occupations, however, followed close on the heels of peace in 1783. The political break had not substantially effected the social or cultural links that Americans had with the British.¹²⁶ The transmission and acceptance of the latest English ideas continued and were manifest on yet another group of country seats bordering the Schuylkill River.

In 1784-85, John Penn, Jr., another of William Penn's grandsons, established his country seat, Solitude, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, down river from his cousin's Lansdowne estate.¹²⁷ Newly arrived in Philadelphia from England, he surely carried with him direct knowledge of current modes of landscape gardening and an understanding of the relationship of fashionable architecture to the "possibilities" of his site. Penn's dwelling, while exhibiting a rather flat exterior surface, contained refined interior detailing and "notable Adamesque interior plasterwork."¹²⁸ The compact villa was well suited to a bachelor's lifestyle and the grounds evinced all the signs of a country gentlemen's surfeit and leisure.¹²⁹ (Figure 6

and 7) Judiciously sited, so as to obtain the finest views across his pleasure ground, to the river and beyond to distant prospects, Penn's country house announced that a synthesized English design approach, as then practiced in England, had been deftly transported and installed on the unspoiled sylvan verge of the Schuylkill.¹³⁰ Yet, two years later in 1786, another country seat, The Woodlands, began to totally eclipse Penn's Solitude and display the proprietor's perspicacity and total conceptual assimilation of the progressive design trends in English architecture and landscape gardening. The Woodlands, the country seat of William Hamilton for nearly a quarter of a century, was one of the finest and most celebrated country estates of the young republic.¹³¹ Foreign and domestic visitors alike, remarked that William Hamilton had achieved the height of "elegance" with the design of his Adamesque dwelling and that the "parke" and the pleasure ground were "laid out with much taste & ingenuity" in the naturalistic English style.¹³² In fact, William Hamilton had achieved, by the fall of 1792, the effect of a unified whole. He had, by all accounts, fulfilled the aesthetic prescription for continuity, advanced by the 18th century theorists and English practitioners in architecture and landscape gardening. By fusing all of his estate buildings with the landscape scene, Hamilton, indeed, created a painterly, pastoral composition that was the envy

of other influential landed gentlemen in America.¹³³

Late 18th and early 19th century artists, as well, affirmed the "perfect combination" and the picturesque beauty of The Woodlands.¹³⁴ The dwelling's grand river front with a portion of Hamilton's "magnificent garden" was captured by, at the least, eight landscape painters and delineators of the early Federal period.¹³⁵ William Birch, who published his engraved version of The Woodlands in The Country Seats of the United States of North America, 1808, said of it:

This noble demesne has long been the pride of Pennsylvania. The beauties of nature and the rarities of art, not more than the hospitality of the owner, attract to it many visitors. It is charmingly situated on the winding Schuylkill and commands one of the most superb water scenes that can be imagined. The ground is laid out in good taste. There are a hot house and green house containing a collection in the horticultural department, unequalled perhaps in the United States. Paintings &c. of the first master [William's father] embellish the interior of the house and do credit to Mr. Wm. Hamilton, as a man of refined taste.¹³⁶

Surely any artist or traveler in those times would have been similarly transfixed and entranced by the appearance of The Woodlands sitting high on a bluff overlooking Gray's Ferry, the site of a floating bridge and principal entry to Philadelphia from points south.¹³⁷ (Figure 8, 9 and 10)

The Woodlands, as conceived by William Hamilton, was not designed and executed simply to serve as a scene for artists' renderings of two dimensional romantic tableaux. Rather, Hamilton's "composed whole" was akin to a three dimensional

stage set where his personal and painterly exertions were played out over time. Then too, he certainly meant for his guests to be spectators and perhaps even actors in the series of scenes which he had produced in his pleasure grounds that "occup[ied] an extent of nearly ten acres [and were formed] in front, and a little back of the house."¹³⁰

A few vivid accounts, of how the visitor was guided through William Hamilton's landscape garden, have survived. One narrative, tentatively dated to 1788, spoke revealingly of the experience and gave some indication of what senses were engaged and ravished as a person sauntered through the grounds.

Mr. Hamilton was remarkably polite--he took us round his walks which are planted on each side with the most beautiful & curious flowers & shrubs they are in some parts enclosed with the Lombardy poplar except here & there openings are left to give you a view of some fine trees or beautiful prospect beyond & in others, shaded by arbours of the wild grape, or clumps of large trees under which are placed seats where you may rest yourself & enjoy the cool air--when you arrive at the bottom of the lawn along the borders of the river you find quite a natural walk which takes the form of the grounds entirely shaded with trees & the greatest profusion of grapes which perfumes the air in a most delightful manner, its fragrance resembles that of the Minionet, a little further on, you come to charming spring, some part of the ground is hollowed out where Mr. Hamilton is going to form a grotto, he has already collected some shells; from this place might have a view of the mill back of Gray's [Ferry], but as the owner [David Jones] will not be induced to part with it although he has offered L 100 per acre for 50 acres Mr. Hamilton has entirely shut it out--the walk terminates at the Green-house which is very large the front is ornamented with the greatest quantity of the most flourishing jesamine & honeysuckles in full bloom

that I have ever seen--the plants are removed to a place back of the green house where they are ranged in the most beautiful order, they are so numerous that we had time to see only a very small part, every spring each plant is removed to a different spot.¹³⁹

The woman who wrote this description in a letter addressed to her sister insisted that she could give "but an inadequate idea of [the gardens] charms."¹⁴⁰ She further explained that:

It would take several days to be perfectly acquainted with the various beauties of this charming place.¹⁴¹

Near the end of the account, the writer urges her sister "to exercise your imagination & supply the deficiencies" so that she might nearly "form an exact picture" of the landscaped garden.¹⁴² She conveyed the further hope that her sister would "derive amusement" not only from the description but by the mental exercise required to conjure up a vision of The Woodlands.¹⁴³

Some seven years later in May of 1795, an English traveler wrote of his observations while walking through Hamilton's pleasure grounds.

Mr. Hamilton's seat was quite in the English style. The house was surrounded by extensive grounds tastefully laid out along the right bank of the Schuylkyl. After dinner the company walked upon this bank, whose slope to the water was planted with a variety of wild and cultivated shrubs. On the other side of the gravel walk which bordered these shrubberies was an extensive lawn which fronted the principal windows of the house.¹⁴⁴

Although more abbreviated, this account paralleled the former description, and it established that Hamilton's garden was

recognized, by an Englishman, as an unmistakable example of the mode of landscape gardening then being practiced in England.

Because of the "beauty of this delightful seat", still others came to view it and record their impressions. A discerning, landed gentleman from South Carolina devoted ten pages of his travel diary to the description of The Woodlands. Writing in 1806, he gave a graphic account of Hamilton's pleasure grounds.

The Garden consists of a large verdant lawn surrounded by a belt of walk & shrubbery for some distance. The outer side of the walk is adorned here & there, by scattered forest trees, thick & thin. It is bounded, partly as described--partly by the Schuylkill & a creek exhibiting a mill & where it is scarcely noticed, by a common post and rail. The walk is said to be a mile long--perhaps it is something less. One is led in to the garden from the portico, to the east or lefthand. Or from the park, by a small gate contiguous to the house. Traversing this walk, one sees many beauties of landscape--also a fine statue, symbol of Winter, & age.--& a Spacious Conservatory about 200 yards to the west of the Mansion.¹⁴⁵

That there was a definite point to begin the circuit walk and a final destination was borne out in this exacting diary entry. This also made clear that Hamilton wished visitors to observe the garden in a specific sequence with perhaps the most intense experience coming at the conclusion.

Corroboration for this intended order of pilgrimage, concluded by a climactic encounter, was found within a published description of The Woodlands appearing in 1809.

The segment read that:

The attention is next excited by the grounds, in the arrangement of which the hand of Taste is every where discerned. Foreign trees from China, Italy, and Turkey, chosen for their rich foliage, or balmy odours, are profusely scattered, or mingled with sweet shrubs and plants, bordering the walks; and as the fragrant path winds round, openings, judiciously exposed, such as the situation of the lands and rivers best admits, diversify the scene. At one spot the city, with its lofty spire, appears; at another, a vast expanse of water; at a third, verdure and water, happily blending, form a complete landscape; and again another, where the champaign country is broken with inequality of ground. Now at the descent is seen a creek [Mill Creek], o'erhung with rocky fragments, and shaded by the thick forest's gloom. Ascending thence, towards the western side of the mansion, the greenhouse presents itself to view, and displays to the observer a scene, than which nothing that has preceded it can excite more admiration. The front, including the hot house on each side, measures one hundred and forty feet, and it contains nearly ten thousand plants, out of which number may be reckoned between five and six thousand of different species, procured at much trouble and expense, from many remote parts of the globe, from South America, the Cape of Good Hope, the Brazils, Botany Bay, Japan, the East and West Indies, &c.&c. This collection, for the beauty and rich variety of its exotics, surpasses any thing of this kind on this continent. . . .The curious person views it with delight, and the naturalist quits it with regret.¹⁴⁶

Indeed one experience built on the next, each scene became additive until a visitor, climbing from the dark, rock outcrop lined valley of mill run, suddenly reached an elevated clearing in which William Hamilton's glazed botanical sanctuary burst upon their sight.

As if the vision of the conservatory's edifice was not enough, everything within the greenhouse and close by was

planned to leave the guest amazed and in awe. Visitors were moved enough to transcribe their impressions; one of the fortunate viewers, in 1806, wrote a splendid portrayal:

The Conservatory consists of a green house, & 2 hot houses--one being at each end of it. The green house may be about 50 feet long. The front only is glazed. Scaffolds are erected one higher than another, on which the plants in pots or tubs are planted so that it represents a declivity of a mountain. At each end are Step-ladders, for the purpose of going on each Stage to water the plants--& to a walk at the back-wall. On the floor a walk of 5 or 6 feet extends along the glazed wall. & at each end a door opens into an Hot house--so that a long walk extends in one line along the Stove walls of the houses & the glazed wall of the green house.

The Hot houses, they may extend in front I suppose 40 feet each. They have a wall heated by flues-- & 3 glazed walls & a glazed roof each. In the center, a frame of wood is raised about 2 1/2 feet high, & occupying the whole area except leaving a passage along by the walls. In the flue wall or adjoining, is a cistern for tropic aquatic plants. Within the frame, is composed a hot bed; into which the pots & tubs with plants are plunged. This Conservatory is said to be equal to any in Europe. It contains between 7 & 8000. plants. To this, the Professor of botany [Benjamin Smith Barton] is permitted to resort, with his Pupils occasionally.¹⁴⁷

It did not seem that William Hamilton was satisfied with merely presenting his "richly stored greenhouse [and its] rare productions."¹⁴⁸ Surely the visitor's observation that the arrangement "represents a declivity of a mountain" suggested that Hamilton desired the exhibit to echo, in miniature, a picturesque landscape effect.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, the planned progression through the extensive pleasure ground,

with its large mingled specimens and thence into an enclosed space displaying smaller exotic plants, spoke of botanical inquiry controlled by pictorial intent in great and small scale alike.

Additional evidence of artistic purpose could be found in the areas of transition just outside the Conservatory. It was in this space, which Hamilton called his "exotics yard", that plant compositions "ranged in the most beautiful order" were encountered.¹⁵⁰

As the position of many plants require external exposure in the Summer season that also is contrived with much ingenuity & beauty. There are 2. large oval grass plats in front of the Conservatory--& 2 behind. Holes are nicely made in these, to receive the pots & tubs with their plants, even to their rims. The tallest are placed in the centre, & decreasing to the verge. Thus they represent a miniature hill clothed with choice vegetations.¹⁵¹

It had been stated by another visitor that "every spring each plant is removed to a different spot."¹⁵² Coupled, these two statements indicated the desire to effect deliberate manipulations of the plant materials and create changing scenes of breath-taking beauty in the vicinity of the Conservatory.

There could be not doubt, in anyone's mind, that the greenhouse and the entire pleasure ground had been formed by individual and creative imagination in consultation with the peculiar character of the site. Furthermore, The Woodland's garden exhibited Hamilton's knowledge or prescience of the

gardening that were to have lasting impact in America. William Hamilton deserved even more credit because he had not overlooked the fact of "the necessity of blending Architecture with landscape gardening."¹⁵⁷ Hamilton, definitely, succeeded in harmonizing his dwelling with all the parts in neighborhood of his habitation.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, he had done so without neglecting the design of his house as an object of comfort and convenience for himself, his family, his guests, and his domestic servants.¹⁵⁹

The Woodlands mansion house, as described by an early 20th century architectural historian, was:

remarkable in its freedom and novelty of composition in plan both as regards convenience and privacy and as regards variety of spatial effects.¹⁶⁰

More recently, William Hamilton's home has been recognized as one of the earliest and finest examples of the Federal style in America.¹⁶¹ Of course, the American Federal style implied the use of Adamesque features and "The Woodlands is probably the closest reflection of pure Adam architecture to be found in any house in America."¹⁶²

Sterling M. Boyd, in his incisive study The Adam Style in America: 1770-1820 (1966), discussed the "singular characteristics" of The Woodlands' exterior and interior decorations. He pointed out that they are "quite similar" to designs published in the first volume of The Works (1773) by Robert and James Adam.¹⁶³ The six two-story, coupled Ionic

Soane and Plaw who were planning smaller houses with complex forms of several series of spatially connected rooms. In addition, Hamilton would have felt comfortable with these progressive architects' design philosophy since it suited his requirements and possibly his own thinking. Soane seems to have articulated why these architects' approach may have been so agreeable when he said:

In composing the following designs I have been more anxious to produce utility in the plans than to display expensive architecture in the elevations; the leading objects were to create convenience & comfort in the interior distributions, & simplicity & uniformity in the exterior.¹⁶⁷

For a cultivated man in Hamilton's position who stated that:

My finances will allow me to do very little but there are several matters in kitchen & stabling way absolutely necessary to make The Woodlands habitable for a large family.¹⁶⁸

He would certainly have gravitated to an economizing architect who could also supply a fashionable product.

Naturally, there has been speculation about the identity of The Woodlands' architect for many years but the necessary documentation has never surfaced to allow positive attribution. Whoever the designer may have been, it has been acknowledged that he was a talented practitioner who manipulated complex spacial forms to produce a novel design in the latest English fashion.¹⁶⁹ The fact that the architect was facile enough to create this "masterpiece", by merging William Hamilton's pre-existing Schuylkill dwelling into the

overall design, further suggests that he was highly accomplished in his art.

William Hamilton, as Betts points out, was not to be slighted in this architectural process. He was the only one in England who could have communicated his desires and the only person who knew how he wanted the dwelling to function and relate to his Schuylkill River site.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, he was the only one who was acquainted with the older house structure and could answer questions about its construction. Even though it appeared that Thomas Nevell supplied Hamilton with plans of the earlier edifice just before the voyage to England, the English architect would still have had to ask Hamilton about details, otherwise, he would not have succeeded to so skillfully joining the new with the old.¹⁷¹

Even though the remodeled house plan turned out to be "more modern, in point of comfort, and more archaeological, from the standpoint of ornament, than anything of the period in America", the mansion's sublimity and concinnity was equally due to its "agreeable situation" and its nearly complete fusion with the "parke" and the pleasure ground.¹⁷² It was not only the principal work of art in the landscape but served as a link between the "cheerful lawn" of The Woodlands' "parke" and the "melancholy lawn" of its garden.¹⁷³ Besides being the element of transition between two landscape spaces, the dwelling's rooms and the several paths of

circulation connecting them, had a similitude to or mirrored the pleasure ground's walks and outdoor apartments.

There were three internal routes aligned with three axes on the first floor. The shortest route from the park side "stage" to the river side portico, that gave entry to the garden, was along the organizing north-south axis. The passage was made without the use of a hallway. Instead, upon arriving at the landslide (north) entrance, a round vestibule was entered which opened into an apse-ended saloon. Which, in turn, gave access to the portico. The progression then, was from an elevated exterior stone terrace into a much smaller interior nodal compartment, then into the most spacious room within the house followed by arrival at a two-story high outside room with a ceiling but no walls. Moving along this route, one would experience a sense of constriction, succeeded by incremental levels of release until, once again, there were no walls and only the sky for a ceiling.

The two transverse axes, oriented east to west, organized interior pathways only. The southern most course went from a square cabinet or parlor through the saloon, lengthwise, to another cabinet of the same dimensions as the first. The northern cross-path flowed from an oval room through an open stair hall into the vestibule on through a pantry hall and concluded in the dining room with semi-

circular end walls. In addition, passage could be made between the two transverse routes at either end. This allowed progression through every geometrically different space on the first floor of the dwelling via a single elliptical course. Richard Betts considered the circulation patterns and concluded that:

However one chose to pass through the house. The experience was of constantly changing spatial forms, not unlike the experience of winding paths and surprising vistas in the garden.¹⁷⁴

Indeed, transit of the elliptical path through the first floor rooms was analogous to the circuit walk journey in the garden where vegetation compartmentalized outside spaces along its line of travel.

Less subtle architectural features assisted with the feeling that the dwelling flowed into and melded with the landscape. The south piazza, virtually a room without walls and possessing only stately two-story columns to interpose themselves in the view, provided a sheltered transition space between the saloon and the garden. This elevated portico not only provided for enjoyment of the vista, in a 180 degree arc, but, in the shade of its pediment roof, one could be cooled by the river breezes. Then too, with the saloon's three French doors open to the portico, views, breezes and the perfumed air were allowed to pass freely into the domicile. This, then, was more than a platform from which the observer could partake of the many picture worthy scenes.

It actually introduced the house to the pleasure ground by providing descending steps that transported the privileged visitor down into the glories of the garden.

Additional features of the house served to blend it with the immediate edge of the pleasure ground. Two-story bows swelled from the east and west facade. These curved projections, punctuated by three floor length windows each, expressed externally the curve-ended and oval rooms within. They not only engaged the landscape physically but, from the interior, provided visual linkage of internal space with outdoor garden expanses. Worthy of particular note was that these rounded features, an often repeated motif in designs for English villas by both Soane and Plaw, were features thought essential by Humphry Repton for providing "extensive prospects."¹⁷⁵ Certainly their use at The Woodlands suggests polished design and also a thorough understanding of the inseparable nature of architecture and landscape.

It was not solely as a transition element that the dwelling's design succeeded in meshing with the immediate landscape and distant prospects. Nearly floor length windows in the east and west facades, on the first floor, provided enlarged views of the landscape and permitted high levels of light to penetrate the interior living spaces. In fact, it was possible to have views and daylight penetrate to the vestibule from the dining and oval rooms' bow windows if the

interconnecting doors were left open. Even on the second floor with its less lofty ceiling heights, the proportionately tall windows flooded the east and west bedrooms with light and afforded views of the grounds from higher vantage points.

The extent to which natural light's penetration to the interior spaces was deemed important, is evidenced by a series of interior fenestrations. Two oval windows were placed opposite each other on the walls of the "waiting hall" communicating between the vestibule and the dining room. Natural light passed from the pantry window into the hall via one of the interior oval fenestrations, across the hall to the corresponding oval and into the enclosed service stairwell, that linked the basement kitchen to the two floors above. Yet another novelty in design allowed light to enter interior spaces. Glazed oval openings were positioned in the upper panels of interior shutters so that, even when closed to secure the room, daylight was still admitted. Even the servants' garret was provided with natural light and views from ox-eye windows in the north and south pediments. Further light infiltrated garret spaces through three box monitors, mounted on the roof, that were glazed on all four sides. When opened, these monitor windows also doubled as sizeable ventilators allowing heat to escape and promoting a cooling updraft through the house.

Although other devices were employed throughout the dwelling to admit light and relate views in the landscape to interior spaces, there was one contrivance which magnified the illusion of transparent walls. Mirrors were affixed to both sides of interior door panels and the panels of window shutters. Either closed or open, they repeated and reflected interior or landscape scenes. One visitors detailed the effect by saying that:

The whole of this [enchanting view] is heightened by mirror doors which when closed repeats the landscape & has a very fine effect it appears, like a fairy scene, another effect produced from them is, that when you are at one end of the house & look through them, you not only see the whole length, but that, being reflected by these glass doors gives you an idea of being twice the extent.¹⁷⁶

Of course, in reflecting outside views composed of the landscape garden, the Schuylkill River and the distant prospects, the choicest scenery was drawn right into the house and reflected throughout various rooms. The painted landscape panoramas applied to interior walls in the latter half of the 18th century were, therefore, not needed at The Woodlands.

To further compound illusions, mirrors were applied to specific walls in sheets as large as the floor length windows on the first floor. The curved wall of the dining room, whose windows looked out over the exotics yard, was treated in this manner. A dinner guest described it in this way:

The dining room may be said to be square, with a

dwelling's delightful aspects, there existed those which hid less favorable objects so they did not mar the experience. Functions of a service nature were intentionally concealed from view. The kitchen, wine cellar and servants hall were all consigned to the finished basement. Concealed secondary passages communicated between principal rooms on the first floor. This permitted servants to move about unobtrusively between rooms being used by the Hamilton family and their visitors. The domestic staff used an enclosed stair devoted solely to their transit between the basement and the two living floors above. A separate unenclosed stair with graceful easements served as the principal flight for the family and guests. Attention to the separation and seclusion of utility coupled with planning for convenience and pleasure were hallmarks of infusion of French planning in 18th century progressive English architectural style.

William Hamilton's desires to segregate and screen utility without the sacrifice to convenience was not manifest in the house alone. With the necessity of having a carriage house and stable near the dwelling, it was required to conceal those non-contributing scenes of the stable yard from views of the park or pleasure ground. With the same ingenuity displayed in the disposition of interior arrangements, Hamilton was able to effect a very satisfactory solution. A visitor's description gave ample evidence of the

success:

The Stable Yard, tho contiguous to the house, is perfectly concealed from it, the Lawn, & the Garden. The mode of concealment from the 2 latter, has been mentioned un-der article Fence.

The Fences separating the Park-lawn from the garden on one hand, & the office yard on the other, are 4 ft. 6 high. The former are made with posts & lathes--the latter with posts, rails & boards. They are concealed with evergreens hedge--of juniper I think.

It re-mains to describe the former. At, or contiguous to the side of the house near to the front angle is a piece of [?] masonry which extends out equal to the bow-window, & joins it--its cover is flat--it covers or screens the entrance to the Cellar. [It] is as high as the base of the principle floor bow windows. From the Cellar one enters under the bow window & into this Screen which is about 6 or 7 feet square through these, we enter a narrow area, & ascend some few Steps into the garden--& thro the other opening we ascend a paved winding slope, which spreads as it ascends, into the yard. This sloping passage being a segment of a circle, & its two outer walls concealed by loose hedges & by this projection of the flat roofed screen of masonry, keeps the yard, & I believe the whole passage out of sight from the house--but certainly from the gar-den & park lawn. The Stables & sheds; form the 3d. side of this three sided yard--the stables are seen from the front[land side] door of the house, over the hedge that screens the Yard.¹⁷⁹ (Figure 14)

The concealed curving walk to the stable yard, partially below grade, was analogous to the ploy used by Thomas Jefferson at Monticello for accessing his dependencies. William Hamilton's outdoor passage was, however, particularly noteworthy because it curved as did surfaces inside and outside the house. In addition, as it curved it ascended from below grade to ground level and, at the same time,

widened. It was truly a remarkable device that was not dissimilar from the picturesque landscape feature, the ha ha, which Hamilton also made use of in, at least, two locations within his park.

The visitor's description did say that the stable itself could be seen from the land side entrance door even though the view of the yard was screened. This was significant since William Hamilton had taken great care to give this structure the character of the house. Having given this dependency the attention that accentuated his desire for unity of design, he would have wanted its consonant features to participate in the scene, as it surely did. (Figure 15 and 16)

On the facade facing the land side of the house and the facade that would have been seen by a visitor from their approaching carriage, the stable's surface was modulated by subtle projections and recessions masterfully combined with simple one and a half story indented arches into which round headed windows were set. The central arch was open for a gangway and carriage compartment. Two niches flanked the central arch with a blind oculus centered over each. An appraisal by a 20th century architectural examiner stated that the stable was, "perhaps, even finer than the house, with its wonderfully simple use of Federal geometric design."¹⁸⁰

The statement, of course, was subjective. But what could not be questioned was that element which Robert Adam had called 'movement' in architecture, that is, "the rise and fall, advance and recess, with diversity of form, in the different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition," was present in both The Woodlands' dwelling and stable. Since Hamilton's two gate lodges, which announced the entrance to the park, exhibited these same surface modulations, they too contributed to the picturesque and congruous design concept applied to each of The Woodlands' features. Undoubtedly, all of the other buildings and structures that were joined in this domestic ensemble, within the landscaped grounds, also indicated an unmistakable likeness in detail and composition. As such they would have adhered to a strong belief of Humphry Repton, who said that "every conspicuous building in a park should derive its character from that of the house."¹⁸¹ (Figure 17 and 18)

There can be no doubt of the absolute currency of The Woodlands estate design, either in landscape gardening or architecture. Considering the buildings and their architectural forcefulness and austere simplicity, after the Adamesque pattern book appliques were removed, the presence of late 18th century English refinement of Adam style could not be refuted. In fact, The Woodlands outbuildings

exhibited the new architectural vocabulary most associated with John Soane. Strong similarities existed between The Woodlands' carriage house and the central block at the entry to Letton Hall's stable. (Figure 19) The central portion of the entrance front of Soane's Burn Hall offices displayed still more resemblance. The Woodlands' lodges, too, had correspondence with Soane's designs for lodges at Hammels Park and Tendring Hall. Realizing that these designs were all on the drawing boards or in a state of completion at the time of William Hamilton's extensive tours of the country estates in England, it stands to reason that Hamilton was probably exposed to and absorbed the design ideas they represented.

Unquestionably, William Hamilton lavished attention on all the architectural components at The Woodlands and made sure they were imbued with harmonious English character that fully complemented the trends in English landscape gardening. And, although his dwelling was the dominant architectural feature in the landscape, Hamilton did not falter in uniting all of the auxiliary buildings into an integrated estate design.

Little was left to want for at this "delightful seat" due to the ministrations of the "tasteful proprietor."¹⁸² William Hamilton's success in manipulating the various scenes of the park and farm with the garden and the estate's

architectural components was evident in their perfect combination. This was truly a very personal world created and regulated for leisure and agreeable outdoor occupation of the owner in complete accord with Nature.¹⁸³

The Woodlands was a Schuylkill country seat that totally captured the essence of the newest in English architectural and landscape gardening fashion during the final decades of the 18th century. As an example of contemporary English theory and practice, it was intended to surpass any other American estate of its time. It was for William Hamilton, the proprietor, his most cherished possession upon which he expended a major amount of his time, his money, and his considerable botanical talent. Hamilton thought of The Woodlands as his principal occupation and he zealously endeavoured to continually improve upon its assets to perfect it as a work of art and to provide for himself a place for contemplation and scientific inquiry in agreeable retirement. And yet, for as much as William Hamilton thought of it as his very tranquil personal retreat, he displayed great liberality by extending to his acquaintances and to "every genteel stranger a ready welcome" to his house and grounds.¹⁸⁴

This open door policy was, perhaps, to be expected from a man who was aware of all things of English origin and attuned to the English gentry's pride in their country seats and their attitude toward the accessibility of their country

seats to fellow countrymen and foreign visitors alike. Hamilton was obviously proud of the success of his endeavour to transport "the verdure of England" to America and The "Woodlands resemblance of it."¹⁸⁵ His free admission to those who admired aesthetic refinement and possessed inquisitive minds may, perhaps, also be interpreted as a faint indication of the beginnings of an American awareness that would later culminate in the establishment of the grand urban public parks for the benefit of all.

William Hamilton's correspondence reveals how arduously he went about applying the most current 18th century English landscape and architectural principles of design to his Schuylkill River estate. Careful examination of these records, in combination with observations by his contemporaries, provide an opportunity to witness the gradual adaptation of land for purposes of agreeable and rewarding occupation during a tumultuous period of this country's history. They also give a personal glimpse at William Hamilton's struggle to introduce English ideas while, at the same time, adapting these ideas to American attitudes and to an American landscape. Eventually, it was through the superimposition of American republican values and ideals upon English form that the eventual transformation of the private pleasure ground into places devoted to recreation and release for the general populace was going to be found.

II. THE WOODLANDS: "FOR BEAUTY AND USE"

By 1789, The Woodlands plantation had been enlarged to contain 600 acres and was one of the largest private land holdings in Blockley Township within the County of Philadelphia.¹ The property was roughly bound by the low water mark along the west bank of the Schuylkill River extending south from Middle Ferry (Market Street Bridge) to the mouth of Mill or Naugansey Creek (termination of 43rd Street). Its western boundary line ran north from the confluence of Mill Creek and the Schuylkill, diverted along Jones' Mill Race, and rejoined the course of Mill Creek proceeding north through its intersection with High Street (41st and Market Street). From a point just north of High Street, the property line tapered in its eastward extension toward the intersection with Conestoga Road (Lancaster Avenue) and High Street. It then followed High Street to Middle Ferry and its starting point at the Schuylkill River.² (Figure 20)

The plantation was described as containing "an elegant seat [and two farms with] marsh meadows, fast land, uplands, watered meadows supplied [by] never failing streams, and sundry quarries of stone."³ It was characterized as being "Hill and Dale Woodland and plain" crossed by several watercourses carrying the name of Sandy or Beaver Creek and Middle Run.⁴

In 1789, the plantation had expanded to its largest

acreage from a smaller tract that had defined its size fifty-five years prior. On January 29, 1784, William Hamilton's grandfather, Andrew Hamilton (I), the Penn family representative and legal advisor in the Province, entered into an agreement with Stephen Jackson for the purchase of his 250 acre plantation and messuage.³ Terms of the agreement stipulated that Stephen Jackson would receive an annual annuity and leave to live on the property until his death.⁴ Andrew Hamilton's plans for the property were not mentioned and the terms of the agreement with Stephen Jackson suggest that nothing was contemplated, at least while Jackson was alive. Andrew Hamilton (I) may have wanted only to expand his vast land holdings which included, among others, the land in and around the town of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.⁷ He did not require the land or its dwelling for a summer house having previously established one on a parcel of ground containing 153 acres given him, by the Penn family in payment for services rendered.⁸ This country seat, northwest of the 18th century city limits at Vine Street, was known as Bush Hill and was devised to Andrew's first son James, who used it as his primary residence.⁹

Besides Bush Hill, James Hamilton (I) inherited the Lancaster estate from his father.¹⁰ As his father had done, he too served the Penn family in various positions of trust. In 1747-8, he was commissioned by the Penns as Lieutenant-

Governor of the Province and Territories. In subsequent years, James was appointed to similar positions of political influence until the abolishment of the Proprietary authority.¹¹ James, as an affluent and powerful Philadelphian, participated in the cultural growth of Philadelphia and through his patronage artists, such as Benjamin West, were sent to England for further training.¹² Having himself studied in England, he was committed to the establishment of institutions of higher education in Philadelphia and served as President of the Trustees of the College (University of Pennsylvania).¹³ James also held the position of President of the Philosophical Society (America Philosophical Society) prior to its uniting with the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge.¹⁴

James' brother, Andrew Hamilton (II), inherited his father's city property including the townhouse on Walnut near Third Street and "The Woodlands Plantation."¹⁵ Andrew was Town Clerk of Philadelphia and held other minor offices during the first half of the 18th century.¹⁶ Politics, however, appeared to hold less interest for him than his "extensive shipping and commission business" which he pursued, until his death, in partnership with William Coleman.¹⁷ On January 15, 1745, soon after the death of Stephen Jackson, Andrew took full possession of the 250 acre plantation on the west bank of the Schuylkill by paying off the mortgage to the Trustees of the General Loan Office.¹⁸

It was reported that Andrew Hamilton (II), about this time, built a "comfortable and fair sized house" overlooking Gray's Ferry for summer residence.¹⁹ During a preliminary restoration investigation of The Woodlands, conducted by G. Edwin Brumbaugh in 1965, the four corners of this mid-century residence were uncovered.²⁰ Its form was typical of other Schuylkill River homes of mid-century--rectangular, free-standing, two story, three bay, and built of stone rubble.²¹ The early Hamilton dwelling differed from other summer homes in that its depth exceeded the dimensions of the two major facades.²² Undoubtedly this occurred due to the adjustments that were needed to incorporate an even earlier hall-parlor house that was, in all likelihood, the Stephen Jackson messuage mentioned in the deed conveyance.²³ The most marked difference discovered between it and other Schuylkill River homes was that the four corners of the house were defined by beveled edge brick quoins and the facades were "plastered and scored to imitate stone block."²⁴ Brick quoins with a stucco field, as they appeared on Andrew Hamilton's summer retreat, are documented on only one other Schuylkill River home, Mount Pleasant.²⁵

Like Mount Pleasant, The Woodland's plantation was, in all probability, farmed. Tax records for Blockley Township, three decades after Andrew Hamilton's (II) initial residency, list occupations of persons residing there predominantly as

farmers or the records refer to those activities related to the support of farming.²⁴ In all likelihood, the 250 acre parcel was let to neighboring farmers for grazing or cropping. Even though mid-century accounts for the plantation did not survive, later 18th century ones indicated portions of the property were devoted to the production of hay and feed crops for the horses that were essential to family travel.²⁷ Wood lot management was also a critical "home farm" activity since it supplied wood for the heating of the family's townhouse in winter, for driving off the spring and fall chill at the summer house, and for maintaining the necessary temperature within the greenhouse.²⁸

In September 1747, only two and three quarter years after taking possession of The Woodlands, Andrew Hamilton II) died an untimely death. He did, however, leave his wife, Mary Till Hamilton, and his two very young sons, William and Andrew (III), well provided for.²⁹ By dividing his estate in the way he did he virtually decided upon the future occupations of his sons. To Andrew, who was four years of age, he left all his "water lott [on the] River Delaware together with all the messuages stores wharfes and buildings thereon [along with a] tract of land in the county of Bucks containing five hundred acres."³⁰ To his youngest son William, who was two and a half years of age, he bequeathed "all [his] lotts of ground in Walnut Street and in Third Street not before disposed of and

also [his] plantation on the west side of the Schuylkill containing about three hundred and fifty acres."³¹

Records have not come to light that indicate what occurred on the Schuylkill plantation from the time of Andrew's (II) death until some thirty years after but it would, in all likelihood, have continued to be used for a summer home and farmed the entire year by tenants with a portion of the land's production returned for support of the family's living needs in town. The townhouse, located "in Walnut Street" near Third, was bequeathed to Mary, Andrew's (II) wife.³² She undoubtedly brought up her two sons in this house with the close attention of Andrew's brother, James (I) of Bush Hill, who never married and was particularly partial to his nephews.³³

James appeared to influence his nephews' lives from an early age. As President of the Trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, James would have been desirous of an education for his nephews. William and Andrew were both students at the Academy in 1754 and William graduated, with a "Baccalaureatus", from the College in May of 1762.³⁴ William's bachelor's degree mentioned his excellence and talent in philosophy and eloquence.³⁵ Undoubtedly, he would have been exposed to the great Scottish sophists' ideas that had contributed to the less regimented approach in English architecture as practiced by Adam, Plaw, Soane and their

fellow professionals.³⁶ Besides his studies in English, oratory and philosophy, he was exposed to classical languages, mathematics and the sciences, which included the "natural history of vegetable and of animals and the chemistry of fossils and agriculture."³⁷ Following his formal studies and graduation, at age 17, he appears to have continued his interests in the natural sciences, particularly botany, and in architecture and landscape gardening.

William, as a scholar and member of an affluent family, would have had access to a large quantity of books imported principally from England. The Academy and College of Philadelphia had a collection as did the institutions in which his uncle was active.³⁸ His Uncle James had a personal library at Bush Hill to which William would have had access.³⁹ William himself would have acquired books on subjects of particular interest and, by 1784, it is known that he possessed "sixty-one botanical works [alone], some of them comprising several volumes [dating] from 1530 to 1770."⁴⁰ His interest in the study of natural science is further evidenced by the fact that he possessed a "two feet reflecting telescope, a compound solar microscope and a book camera obscura."⁴¹

Those books which were in his collection, he occasionally loaned to friends, and in return, he borrowed from their collections.⁴² He particularly sought to consult volumes dealing with practical gardening, landscape gardening, and

architecture which his upper class friends possessed even though books on these subjects were well represented in his own collection.⁴³ It might be considered whether William participated in an exchange of books among those in his social circle who sought to avoid duplication of costly publications in their private libraries. Such a system would afford participants a chance to review and extract specific ideas and keep abreast of current English and European trends without needless expense.

Like other gentlemen in the Philadelphia upper class, William Hamilton sought ways to keep current with fashionable living patterns in England and on the continent. By reading recently published works a gentleman could certainly obtain knowledge, but only by acting upon that knowledge could he demonstrate his understanding of it. Establishing country seats, upon which a sophisticated structure was erected with corresponding grounds laid out in conformance with English patterns, was a consummate way of demonstrating intellectual synthesis of those ideas. By seeking to emulate the landscape and architectural reality which the English gentry produced, after pondering ideas and theory, an American gentleman committed himself to the unceasing changes and fashions which inevitably accompanied the most current school of thought.

This constant tinkering with one's estate, particularly evident on plantations of the eastern seaboard of America,

and most chronicled at Monticello, was also occurring in Philadelphia. The wealthy intellectual gentlemen of Philadelphia, as well as their counterparts in Boston, Charleston and other centers of affluence and refinement, were continually trying to rephrase English aristocratic expressions of landscape gardening and architecture to take best advantage of the distinctly American natural setting. The continuous exertions of William Hamilton demonstrate how earnest this one member of the Philadelphia elite was in adapting the evolving English principles, underlying the design of country seats abroad, to his rural retreat along the Schuylkill River.

In 1767, at the age of 22, in full control of his inheritance, William Hamilton set up his residence at The Woodlands. He spoke of these early years, at The Woodlands, in a letter to his Lancaster estate agent, Jasper Yeates, some years later. His letter, dated September 13, 1787, states his "anxiety [at not being] fixed at [his] favourite spot where for near 20 years of [his] life [he] experienced so much happiness."⁴⁴ His later activities and achievements suggest that William's early enjoyment of The Woodlands was derived from its quietude and natural attributes which allowed him to pursue independent studies in botany and experiment with landscape gardening.

The pleasant occupations in which he involved himself on

his Schuylkill River plantation appear to have satisfied his ambitions. William had taken no interest in the business of a merchant as his father had done nor did he favor law or politics as had his grand father and uncle. He certainly had demonstrated that he was an intellectual and he did not have to doubt that he was an aristocrat. From all indications, he preferred the private pleasures of rural living supplemented by the collection of art, by correspondence with and entertainment of like-minded friends, gardening, gentleman farming and the acquisition of fine books related to his interests. As an admitted Anglophile, he sought to establish himself in the manner of an English country squire and cultivate his interests in the arts and sciences as befitted a gentleman of taste and refinement.

Not unlike the English landed gentry and other affluent landholders of America, William Hamilton experimented with landscape and architectural forms as they became known through publications and could be implemented by knowledgeable master carpenters and gardeners. Thus a novel architectural alteration to the Georgian river dwelling at The Woodlands had occurred by 1774. It appears that William added projecting three sided, two story bows or bays to either side of the house.⁴³ His reference to them, in a letter to George Washington on February 20, 1784, suggests that they posed problems from the time of there addition since he states that

"the flats of two Bow Windows have for these ten years baffled every attempt to tighten them."⁴⁶

Three sided bows, added to the rectangular shape of a Schuylkill River home, would have extended interior spaces beyond the face of the old walls into the landscape. Such an addition, would have allowed any person within the room to which it had been added, to view an expanded vista. Inspiration for these three sided bows perhaps came to William Hamilton from an English architectural book in his possession-
-Plans, Elevations, Sections, and other Ornaments of the Mansion House, belonging to the Corporation of Doncaster. The feature was prominent in the engraved plan and Hamilton noted on the dedication page "I am your obligé."⁴⁷ It was likely then, that Hamilton's addition of these projecting features contributed to the appearance of the same feature on the house of his cousin, John Penn. This dwelling, Lansdowne, was erected c. 1773 and had two story high bows on opposing sides of the symmetrical structure. Lansdowne also had a "portico in two stories, a form popular with Palladio."⁴⁸ William Hamilton's house had a portico or piazza as well but it exceeded the grandeur of Penn's by utilizing twenty-four feet high or giant columns of the Tuscan order. Whether this piazza, on the south front, was added at the same time as the two bows were installed, has not been fully verified. It seems likely, in view of the construction techniques employed

and the column joinery along with the heavy details applied to the pediment that they were characteristic of mid-18th century work.⁴⁹ There is no question that the portico or piazza predated 1784 because a bill from William Gray for work "under piazza" was submitted to Hamilton on April 19th of that year.⁵⁰ Hamilton himself mentions it in his letter to George Washington on February 20, 1784. He informs Washington that he has consented to allow Mr. Turner, a craftsman, "newly arrived from England to make a variegated floor for an open portico in the front of [his] house on the Schuylkill."⁵¹

The giant Tuscan portico, squarely facing down river, was yet another device to unite the features of the landscape, particularly the Schuylkill, with the dwelling. Not only was it a dominant architectural feature to be seen from some distance but, from its raised platform, gave a commanding view of the countryside within a 180 degree arc. The Reverend Dr. Manasseh Cutler, on an unexpected visit to The Woodlands in October 1803, gave his impression of the piazza.⁵² "In the front, which commands an extensive and most enchanting prospect, is a piazza supported on large pillars, and furnished with chairs and sofas like an elegant room."⁵³ The scenes which "burst upon the sight" from this exterior room, essentially an extension of the dwelling's interior spaces, suggest the success with which Hamilton fused landscape and architecture.⁵⁴ A letter written in 1788 by a visitor remarked

that there was:

a view of a remarkably fine lawn, beyond that, the bridge over which people are constantly passing, the rough ground opposite to Gray's, four or five windings of the Schuylkill, the intermediate country & the Delaware terminated by the blue mist of the Jersey shore."

Still another account relates that, from the vantage point of The Woodlands piazza:

the eye will be gratified when contemplating the prospect--the verdant mead, the spacious lawn, Schuylkill's lucid stream, the floating bridge, the waves here checked by the projecting rock, there overshadowed by the inclining trees, until by meandering in luxuriant folds, the winding waters lead the entranced eye to Delaware's proud river, on whose swelled bosom rich merchant ships are seen descending fraught with vast surplus of our fertile soil, or others mounting heavily the stream, deep laden with the wealth of foreign climes."

Views, particularly those that could be described as picturesque, were important elements William Hamilton sought to integrate into his Schuylkill River plantation. One way of regulating those views was to safeguard them by outright control. In 1776, his need to exercise influence, beyond the 350 acre tract left to him by his father, became evident by his acquisitions of at least an additional 191 acres. He was aided in the purchases of adjoining properties, lying to the north and northeast of The Woodlands by his two uncles who bought and conveyed the parcels to William." This multiple transaction method may have been employed to disguise, from the owners, William's true interest in the parcels and keep the lands' cost reasonable.

William Hamilton did not merely want to control vistas, he wanted the opportunity to manipulate them as well, so that they would conform to English landscape principles. He was no doubt following the directions given in one of his sixty gardening and botanical books.⁵⁸ He described some of his efforts to his friend Billy Tilghman of Kent County, Maryland, when he wrote to him in April, 1779.

As to Philadelphia, I never go there without business calls me. Do you remember how anxious I was two or three years ago to have a peep at the Town, thro the Central Wood. 'Twas then an object of my regard, but at present I do cordially hate it, that altho the prospect of it lately open'd by the total removal of the Wood is a most commanding one, & would at any other time have been admired, it is now absolutely disgusting to me. Judge by this what must be the Frame of my Mind.⁵⁹

By this passage, Hamilton indicated that he was not adverse to the alteration of natural features, even the elimination of a mass of woods, to achieve a desired visual effect or gain a vista.

This portion of Hamilton's letter alludes to a juxtaposition of several events that are interesting to consider. The architectural and landscape changes which he was implementing at The Woodlands were taking place during the years of the colonies' war with England.⁶⁰ The very landscape alteration mentioned to Billy Tilghman occurred not long after William had been arrested in September 1778, for high treason and subsequently acquitted after a twelve hour trial on October 17, 1778.⁶¹ He had every reason to be

disgusted by the sight of the city in which he had been publicly humiliated.

The personal attack, however, did not seem to diminish his efforts to make adjustments to The Woodlands and mend the injuries which the British occupation forces had inflicted on his property. For William Hamilton, the activities in which he immersed himself were therapeutic. He explains it quite plainly in his letter of April 1779.

The necessity I am under of repairing in some Degree, the Damage my Estate has sustained, gives me constant employment, & obliges me to stir about a good deal, and as it leaves less time for Thought, is I believe of considerable Service to my Health which I am persuaded would otherwise suffer, from my Reflexions on past and present Scenes.⁴²

War, of course, had a dampening effect on William Hamilton's efforts to implement extensive improvements to his Schuylkill River estate. Despite the limitations he seemed proud of what he did accomplish and how it reflected his knowledge of the latest English trends. His pride was quite evident in his letter to Billy Tilghman.

I have just been making some considerable Improvements at The Woodlands, and I long to have you see them. From the scarcity of Fence Nails, High prices and Difficulty of getting Labourers I have been obliged to throw 100 acres on the back of my House, into only one Enclosure which although not inconvenient has nonetheless [?] an handsome Effect. You may recollect the Ground is Hill 'n Dale Woodland and plain and therefore well enough calculated to make a small parke, and I am endeavouring to give it as much as possible a parkish Look. My lawn too I expect will shine this Summer. It already looks elegantly. And so it might, you'll say, when you are told the manuring

it this last winter has cost me L1500.⁶³

A statement like this only points out that William Hamilton was a man with considerable wealth who spared little expense when it came to the pleasure grounds or "parke", as he refers to it, that surrounded his dwelling.⁶⁴ His enormous expenditure of L1500 for fertilizing his lawn came at the war's midpoint when Philadelphia was suffering from severe inflation and food was in short supply.⁶⁵ To see this amount of money in true perspective it must be realized that many skilled labourers made less than L200 annually!⁶⁶

Any further plans William Hamilton may have had for his plantation, during this time, suddenly evaporated when he again was arrested on October 2, 1780. He was accused of having had "unlawful and dangerous correspondence and intercourse with the enemy at New York."⁶⁷ He was forced to post an enormous bond of L100,000 and was to have left "by vessel to [go to] a neutral port, St. Eustatias."⁶⁸ In preparation for his banishment until the war's end, Hamilton advertised "the elegant seat, The Woodlands, to be let."⁶⁹ His departure was delayed and he remained at The Woodlands for the war's duration. For those years, he seems to have kept a low profile and lived inoffensively since even his correspondence is noticeably non-existent.⁷⁰

Although a dearth of personal papers prevent a clear picture from being formed of the pursuits engaged in on the

Schuylkill plantation, other documents reveal that change upon and use of the land was not curtailed. Blockley Township Tax Records suggest that portions of The Woodlands' 558 acres were used for grazing Hamilton's horses and cows.⁷¹ Hamilton even increased his small herd of "horned cattle" from 4 to 7 during the war when economic conditions were unstable and food shortages neared crisis proportions.⁷²

A more dramatic change to Hamilton's plantation appeared imminent in March of 1781 when the Council in Philadelphia received and confirmed a survey it had ordered for laying out "a road from Darby Road to the bridge on the Schuylkill at Market Street."⁷³ Although an informal passage, known as the Schuylkill Mill Road, had existed through The Woodlands plantation for access to Nathan Jones' Mill at Mill Creek, the proposed new road would now bisect the plantation on a diagonal. The new road would link up with Darby Road as a major thoroughfare leading into the city from the South and Market Streets. This would be a new route out of the city to points south and southwest, resulting in an increased flow of traffic passing through Hamilton's lands with the potential to disrupt established fields of cultivation and pasture.

Whether William Hamilton favored the opening of this link road [later to be known as Woodland Avenue] or not made little difference. His opinion, during these tumultuous political times, had he dared voice them, probably would have caused

greater personal hardship. Considering the precarious political position he was in, no doubt, he found it judicious to "keep [himself] for the most part out of the way."⁷⁴ He indeed must have felt it prudent to remain inconspicuous since so many who were merely suspected of Tory leanings had their property confiscated.⁷⁵

Early in the year of 1782, Hamilton appeared to have decided to concentrate his activities on his 100 acres of "parke" and lease the remainder. In preparation for letting "two lots, each containing about 100 acres of extraordinary pasture land; the greatest part of which [was] perfectly new, and would very well suit the town herdsmen", he had these two lots cleared of wood.⁷⁶ Other parcels "to be let" needed little preparation. They were composed of "a grazing farm of 150 acres, with between 50 an 60 acres of marsh meadow adjoining" plus "a large and convenient house elegantly situated for a tavern or gentleman's seat with a sufficiency of pasture and garden ground."⁷⁷ It seems that Hamilton wanted to be free of the management of the greater part of his plantation preferring the revenue it could yield. With less property to oversee, he could devote himself more vigorously to the study of botany and to the collection of indigenous and exotic plants.

By late summer of 1782, Hamilton felt able to move about with more freedom. It was then that he had his first meeting

with Humphry Marshall, a cousin of John Bartram and a self-taught botanist who". . .was engaged in sending seeds and plants" to England and the Continent.⁷⁸ Hamilton took with him a letter of introduction from a mutual friend, Dr. Thomas Parke, who was himself an active correspondent with botanists abroad. Dr. Parke said of William Hamilton that "his knowledge of Botany & Natural History--his taste for cultivating the many curious productions of America, united to his very amiable Character, will I am confident gain him a welcome reception at Bradford" Marshall's homestead, West Bradford, Chester County, Pennsylvania.⁷⁹

Whether Hamilton was simply "desirous of being introduced" to Humphry Marshall or also wanted to confer with him was not clear.⁸⁰ It was conceivable that, Hamilton, in passing "through part of Chester County" was on a plant finding expedition and wanted to ask Marshall for recommendations.⁸¹ It could also have been that Hamilton, anticipating a trip abroad, was seeking to obtain letters of introduction to contacts in England, France, and Holland with whom Marshall was acquainted. Whatever the reason for his interest, William Hamilton continued his association with Humphry Marshall through the following 17 years.⁸²

The conflict with England, which brought with it so many torn relationships, bitter feelings and mixed allegiances among Philadelphians, came to an end in April of 1783.

William Hamilton had escaped the jealousies and vindictive spirit of the Whigs in Philadelphia with his property intact. His Uncle James, however, had sustained "great losses [to his] private fortune" and suffered banishment from his relatives and friends as a prisoner on parole,⁸³ but had managed to hold onto his property as well. Already advanced in age and plagued by recurring skin cancer, James Hamilton (I), unfortunately, lived only five months beyond the cessation of hostilities, dying on August 14, 1783.⁸⁴

The favor and solicitude, that James had shown to his nephew William throughout his maturing years, continued beyond James' death. In his will, he devised to William his "capital messuage called Bush Hill together with all and singular the lands and houses barns stables orchards gardens and other lands adjacent thereto the whole about one hundred and fifty four acres."⁸⁵ In addition "Three tracts of banked marsh or meadow grounds lying on the road to Gloucester Ferry [NJ] in the township of Wiccacoa containing thirty-two Acres" were bequeathed to William.⁸⁶ James Hamilton (I) also gave William "all that tract or tracts of land, messuages and lots or pieces or ground situate and lying in and near the borough of Lancaster in the County of Lancaster."⁸⁷

Although James also gave his nephew "all the plate [silver] I die possess'd," it seemed not ample for the "payment of Legacies" or the Bond he was "called on by

Barclay's [London brokerage] to take up of [his] Uncle's."⁸⁸
In consequence of his uncle's debt of L1,000 Stg. and other estate deficiencies, William was pressed to action in collection of the rent arrears on the Lancaster lots. As an estate property that had been granted to his grandfather and then passed to him by his uncle, he also felt that the Lancaster inheritance required his stewardship. He wrote to Jasper Yeates, his estate agent c. July 14, 1784, expressing his desire to manage the Lancaster estate with a complete understanding of all its parts.

It has from the first been an Object with me to have a compleat Plan of the whole Estate in order that one uniform system may be adopted not to be afterward departed from except in Case of the greatest Necessity."⁸⁹

The desire for organization and formulation of "compleat Plans of the whole" were to become trademarks of William Hamilton's approach to his family and his holdings, particularly as they involved his Schuylkill River estate, The Woodlands."⁹⁰

Feeling that his estate was financially secured by the inheritance of his uncle's many properties that were not encumbered by debt, William Hamilton resumed architectural experiments and landscape planning at The Woodlands which had been partially suspended during the war. Very likely, he was challenged by John Penn, Jr.'s efforts at Solitude, a small river estate on the west bank of the Schuylkill above Upper Ferry. Penn arrived from England in 1784 and began building

an Adamesque villa which he surrounded with a 19 acre park landscaped to reflect the latest in "English taste."⁹¹

William Hamilton was consulting a friend's architecture book referring to it as "Halfpennys Architecture" (one of William and John Halfpenny's publications) and, upon finishing with it, had it passed along to "Mr. Penn."⁹² By March 1784, he had engaged Thomas Nevell, an established carpenter-architect who had built MacPherson's Mount Pleasant, to accomplish a number of tasks at The Woodlands of which supplying Hamilton with "some Extracts from Sundry Plans in [his] Posesion" was one.⁹³ The Woodland's household accounts for 1784 listed numerous expenditures for building materials, many of them such as lath, lime and hair would relate to interior plasterwork. Other payments were made for "laying 6 hearths, ironmongery, bricks, [and] glazing."⁹⁴ Still other expenditures indicate materials were being supplied for other building purposes that clearly did not relate to a dwelling. Those payments were for "timber for the shed, boards for shed, scantling [and, for] making fence for garden."⁹⁵ It was quite clear that William Hamilton had committed himself to general improvements at The Woodlands and had taken an active part in their planning. This was clearly apparent by a statement to Dr. Thomas Parke.

If the Stable as I plan'd it just before my departure for temporary convenience was never finish'd, it would be very well to have it done in such manner as to serve for a cover for a carriage

& Horses."⁹⁶

Hamilton, though, was not just planning and having those plans executed. He was also trying out contemporary English building materials and techniques, such as "stucco compositions" and its various applications.⁹⁷ George Washington, stopping in Philadelphia after resigning his commission in New York, was intrigued with what Hamilton was doing and requested "information respecting the success of [his] experiment[s]--with such directions and observations (if you think the method will answer) as would enable me to execute any purpose" [at Mount Vernon]."⁹⁸

Building materials and labor continued to be invoiced to William Hamilton through November of 1785. After he had left for England, the flurry of activity, however, slowly dwindled toward the end of 1784. Lingering portions of work were probably expected even though Hamilton had plans for "an early [summer, 1784] voyage to Europe."⁹⁹ Hamilton's building account lists invoices through November 1785.

In actuality, Hamilton had wanted to leave for England and the continent "in a fine ship that [would] sail on the 18th or 20th of [June 1784]."¹⁰⁰ His departure, however was in a "state of uncertainty, depending altogether on the contingency of procuring monies sufficient for [his] necessary arrangements."¹⁰¹ William Hamilton was relying heavily on the payment of "considerable arrears due to [him] in [the

Lancaster] Borough" which he calculated from the estate ledger to be L4300 sterling.¹⁰² By August 30, 1784, his worn patience, in waiting for considerable sums, was made very clear to Jasper Yeates.

My voyage to England has to my great mortification been hitherto delayed by want of cash. I am however not yet so much discourag'd as to give it up, but shall strain every nerve to sail the first of October in the packet from New York. The monies requisite to pay Mr. Delancy & the Barclays & to answer my other occasions, you are sensible must be considerable & during the present scarcity of cash it seems almost impossible to obtain a sufficiency for those purposes.¹⁰³

Still anticipating that rent arrears and the sale of outlots in Lancaster would be enough to "supply [his] exigencies", and that Jasper Yeates would forward "funds on which [he] could draw for money", Hamilton boarded "The Portland" in New York and sailed for England on October 6th.¹⁰⁴

There were multiple reasons for the trip to England. William Hamilton was endeavouring to settle his Uncle James' (I) debts with several brokerage houses in London, "as directed in [his] Uncle's Will."¹⁰⁵ Bonds had been given by his uncle in return for cash. The collateral, from all indications, was James Hamilton's holdings of land. Since William Hamilton could not raise the cash in America, he had to consider other alternatives. One would have been to assume the debt by having the bond reissued in his name or seek another lender who would supply cash based on William Hamilton's personal collateral. William Hamilton, in turn,

would have paid off the bond of his uncle. Still another method would have involved an outright sale of his rental properties to pay off the bond without incurring further debt. Any of these transactions, separately or in combination, would release William Hamilton from the "restrictions in [his] Uncle's Will, [which called] for every exertion on [his] part."¹⁰⁶ The exertions, by necessity, had to be made by him in person, in England.

London was no more the answer to Hamilton's financial entanglement than America had been. His letter to Dr. Thomas Parke indicates the disappoint of his early expectations.

The accounts [David & Robert Barclay] give of the little faith the English merchants have in American credit give the Business rather a discouraging appearance, several Bankruptcies has happen'd in consequence of the failure of American remittances.¹⁰⁷

Two months later, his endeavors had still not yielded success.

I have taken all the pains in my power to accomplish the purpose of a Loan. But am sorry to say I see no likelihood of its being accomplish'd at present. Whether this proceeds from a real scarcity of cash which is alleged by everyone, or to universal dislike to American contracts of every kind, owing to the failure of remittances from our merchants.¹⁰⁸

By November 1785, William Hamilton gave up hope for raising cash to settle his and his Uncle's bonds. He could interest no one in his properties lying in Pennsylvania, Delaware or New Jersey.¹⁰⁹ He wrote to Dr. Parke that his "expectation of selling here [in England was] now totally at an end."¹¹⁰

Besides the urgent business of settling his Uncle's

estate, which met with such dismal results, Hamilton had intentions of more pleasurable employment while in England. He obviously left Philadelphia with the express intention of making contact with those who shared his enthusiasm for landscape gardening and botany. In a parting memorandum to Benjamin Hays Smith, his agent in Philadelphia during his absence, Hamilton charged him to "send [as many] pavia seeds" as could be spared plus those Hamilton had "desired [William] Bartram to make up [from] a list."¹¹¹ In a letter from London a year later, William Hamilton exhorts Smith to send "the many sorts of seeds [he has] collected in the course of the summer for the purposes of exchanging them for others here."¹¹² Hamilton was extremely desirous of accommodating his new friend and fellow enthusiast, Robert Barclay, who "request [ed] that Hamilton procure him some American plants."¹¹³ Since Barclay was also the broker to whom Hamilton owed payment on his uncle's bond, he felt more anxious about complying with this request. To assure that it would be taken care of, William Hamilton wrote to both Benjamin Hayes Smith and Dr. Thomas Parke urging that "immediate attention [be given] to the matter."¹¹⁴

These few references above and some later pertaining to the exchange of seeds indicated that William Hamilton was already about the business of propagation on his Woodlands plantation.¹¹⁵ When he wrote to Smith on February 21, 1785,

Hamilton further confirmed that his practice of raising plants predated 1784 since he mentions the "Green House" at The Woodlands.¹¹⁶ The bulk of this letter to Smith consisted of instructions outlining the care for a large number of plants and roots which were shipped to Philadelphia.¹¹⁷ Hamilton was very specific about noting which plants came from each of four nurserymen from whom he bought. He believed this "knowledge [might] be of service to [him] in future purchases of the same kind."¹¹⁸ Besides the wide variety of plants he selected for The Woodlands, he made a smaller purchase of plants and roots for "John Penn Junr", at Solitude.¹¹⁹ This fact suggests that there was some reliance, among the Philadelphia elite, on Hamilton's abilities to make wise selections on their behalf.¹²⁰

Among those plants shipped on the 17th and 22nd of February, there were "300 - 2 yr. old Silver Firs, 25 Cedars of Lebanon, [and] 500 Portugal Laurels" which were to "be planted upright in a nursery."¹²¹ Plainly, such quantities in combination with "200 young Elm trees" and the many varieties of other domestic "trees, shrubs, flowers, fruits &c of every kind" which he desired his gardener, Mr. Thomson, to plant in "a good nursery", were intended for a grand landscape scheme.¹²² Such a scheme was intended to be more than just for visual effect since he instructed Benjamin Hays Smith to sow "large quantities" of seed from an array of varieties

along with "such others as may occur to [him] for Beauty or Use."¹²³ Hamilton re-emphasized that planting for beauty and use, as practiced by the British in their plantations, was to be the pattern for The Woodlands.

Having observed with attention the nature, variety & extent of the plantations of shrubs, trees, & fruit & consequently admired them, I shall (if God grants me a safe return to my own country,) endeavour to make it smile in the same useful & beautiful manner.¹²⁴

During Hamilton's stay in England, while attempting unsuccessfully to raise cash, he made it a point to take at least three trips "to look at as much of the country as [his] time [would] allow."¹²⁵ His first excursion was "to Bath & Bristol & Wales & from thence [he struck out] on a tour thro the west & northern parts of the kingdom" returning in May 1785 to London.¹²⁶ Following this, he intended to "go over to France, visit Flanders & Holland & so back to England."¹²⁷ His "wish to visit the continent [was] an object to [him] of great consequence."¹²⁸ Hamilton desired "to have there passed the summer & fall in viewing every thing within [his] reach," but he was 'obliged to give [it] up" as a result of his "streighten'd situation."¹²⁹ Instead, at the "beginning of the summer", he went into Berks--Wilts--Gloucesters--Monmouths--Glamorganshire--Worcesters--Warwicks--Staffords--Shrops--Darbyshire Nottingham's--Cheshire--Lancastershire & Yorkshire."¹³⁰ In the fall, Hamilton took another tour "into Berkes--Hertfords--Buchkinghams--Oxfords--Wilshire--Hamshire

in [his] way from Falmouth to London [passing] thro Cornwall Devonshire, Dorsetshire &c."¹³¹ A fourth trip was planned in which he would "make a different route on [his] return to Falmouth" from which he would embark and return to America.¹³² Certainly Hamilton's tours in England were extensive and from all accounts he traveled more widely than Thomas Jefferson when he took his "English garden tour."¹³³ Jefferson, however, was able to view the French picturesque gardens which Hamilton found impossible to accomplish. Hamilton, as was true of other American gentlemen after the war, took advantage of their business and political trips to England by passing their leisure time touring London and the countryside.¹³⁴ They were amply aided by tour books that had been written by such respected gentlemen as Arthur Young and William Gilpin.¹³⁵ Thomas Whately's descriptions of gardens in England, to be found in his Observations on Modern Gardening, was another source consulted. Thomas Jefferson followed Whately as his guide and this work was also in William Hamilton's possession in England, no doubt used as reference in his journeys before Jefferson and Adams began their single excursion. By the time Hamilton had completed his third circuit he remarked that he was "bold to say I have seen as much of Eng'd & its metropolis as any of my countrymen who have preceded me."¹³⁶ He was sufficiently impressed to say that "the verdure of England is its greatest Beauty & my endeavors shall not be wanting to

give The Woodlands some resemblance to it."¹³⁷

Just as Hamilton's impressions of what he had seen could "not be easily effaced," neither could his purposes for going to England be forgotten.¹³⁸ Equally pressing to his need to raise money was his desire to see to "the education & welfare of his [brother's] children."¹³⁹ When William Hamilton sailed from New York he was accompanied by his niece, Anne, and his two nephews, James (II) and Andrew (IV), along with a black, man-servant and a governess.¹⁴⁰ It was intended that James and Andrew Hamilton stay in England for their education and not return to America with William and Anne.¹⁴¹ Anne Hamilton was taken to England perhaps, to have her schooled in the social graces. William reveals that "nothing [would] more severely gaul me than to take my dear Ann so suddenly, from a situation where I have the happiness to find she daily improves."¹⁴²

Hamilton had not settled long in London when he "receiv'd the account of his poor Brother's death [and began] revolving in [his] own mind what was in my power to be of service to his [brother's] family who are so dear to me."¹⁴³ Besides Anne, James (II), and Andrew (IV) who were with William Hamilton in England, his brother Andrew Hamilton (III), left four other young children and a wife.¹⁴⁴ By July of 1785, William Hamilton appears to have resolved, in his own mind, that his brother's children must necessarily become his own. He wrote to Thomas Parke saying that he has "had the misfortune of

losing an affectionate brother whose children have a claim on [him] for an early attention."¹⁴³

William Hamilton's mother, Mary Till Hamilton, already resided with him and he realized, sometime in the Fall of 1785, that with an expanded family, he would have to adjust his accommodations upon returning to America. It seems most likely that it was around this time that the need to enlarge The Woodlands mansion was determined and plans made. Hamilton mentioned in a letter to Dr. Thomas Parke that "some addition to the house, a stable & other offices are immediately necessary at The Woodlands."¹⁴⁴ Several months later he explained the reasons.

My ardent desire therefore is to get Home as soon as I can. If it could have been in the earliest part of the summer so much the better, in order that my family arrangements might have been well fixed before the following winter. I am well aware that my finances will allow me to do very little but you know as well as I do, there are several matters in the kitchen & stabling way absolutely necessary to make The Woodlands habitable for a large family, & such a one mine must unavoidably be. As to living at B. Hill or in Town, it is out of the Question I can afford neither, nor if I could, would either be of my mind.¹⁴⁷

And so, William Hamilton made a deliberate choice about where his family would reside. Thus, his dwelling, pleasure ground, and plantation, were not just designed for "beauty" and aesthetic considerations but for "use" and accommodating day-to-day domestic activity of a large family in comfort and with efficiency. He said as much to Dr. Parke in his letter of

September 24, 1785: "I am daily looking forward to the arrangements for making my situation convenient and agreeable."¹⁴⁸

Of the letters which are known to exist relating to The Woodlands (while Hamilton was in England), none mention an architect or even specifically remark that plans were drawn for the dwelling or any other structure on the Philadelphia plantation. Neither was there any reference to a landscape designer. In Hamilton's travels through England he had certainly seen the work of Lancelot Brown in the landscaped parks of large estates.¹⁴⁹ He had been in Worcestershire where William Shenstone's Leasowes, designed as a *ferme ornee*, was situated and certainly he would have been guided there by his copy of Observations on Modern Gardening. His tours would have exposed him to the work of architects such as John Soane and John Plaw practicing in the more restrained neo-classical manner as well. Perhaps, Hamilton's observation of collaborative efforts between the architect, Henry Holland, and the landscape designer, Lancelot Brown, gave him graphic instruction in the fusion of romantic architecture and landscape.¹⁵⁰ Without question, the "country houses, villas and rural dwellings" of Sir John Soane and John Plaw would have attracted Hamilton's attention because of their suitability to domestic efficiency so essential in America.¹⁵¹ Designs for dwellings and dependencies, from both architects,

bore similarities to The Woodland's buildings. John Plaw's works, executed, during the time Hamilton was touring England, exhibit very similar stylistic and interior planning features found at The Woodlands.

The dwelling and dependencies William Hamilton had built at The Woodlands, "to make [his] situation convenient and agreeable", unquestionably paralleled the forms expressive of the most current ideas in English domestic architecture.¹⁵² John Soane phrased it in 1788 by describing his work:

In composing the following designs I have been more anxious to produce utility in the plans than to display expensive Architecture in elevations, the leading objects were to create convenience & comfort in the interior distributions, & simplicity & uniformity in the exterior.¹⁵³

John Plaw echoed the same desire in building for "comfortable Retreat."¹⁵⁴ He suggested "that the most simple forms and finishings are best which have convenience within a small compass, not to exceed the bounds that are sufficient and comfortable."¹⁵⁵ Plaw did say, moreover:

that in the habitations of Man it is proper and necessary to combine 'utile' with the 'dulce' [and] if [the dwelling is] properly adapted to the surrounding scenery, will have as great a share of picturesque effect as good taste can desire, and as is consistent with civilized life.¹⁵⁶

If indeed, Hamilton sought the services of an architect in England, who espoused a domestic architectural philosophy compatible with his own objectives, he would have done so realizing that he, himself, would have to participate in the

design process. Hamilton would have had to make an architect fully aware of the dimensions of the existing dwelling for it to have been incorporated, as it was, within the new one. Perhaps that was the purpose of taking Nevell's "sundry plans."¹³⁷ William Hamilton, by necessity, had to define the design program since only he was aware of the size of his family, the number of domestic servants, the quantity of his artwork, the size of his library, and his needs for social functions and entertainment.

Beyond the function and size of the living accommodations, Hamilton also needed to acquaint an architect with the situation and vistas of his Schuylkill River site. He was, without question, the sole person in England with this knowledge. Not only was this information about the grounds and prospects essential for arrangement of the dwelling's plan but for the views to be had of the landscape from the interior spaces, and also for the placement of the dependencies. It was necessary to convey information about the elevations, drainage patterns, exposures to sun and prevailing seasonal winds, in effect all the "parke's" natural attributes so that the appearance and position of all the new dependencies achieved their desired relationship to each other within the landscape. Considering the fact that William Hamilton had involved himself in a sequence of early building campaigns at The Woodlands, had been continually experimenting with

building materials, and had contact with leading carpenter-architects in Philadelphia, it stands to reason that he would have collaborated closely with an architect in England on such a personally important design. Hamilton gave some indication of the degree of his involvement when he wrote to Dr. Thomas Parke that he "wish[ed] to have an experiment made with some of our Stone & beg[s] [that he would] be so kind as to send [Hamilton] a block from that very quarry of about 12 Inches square & six Inches thick as also a Block of the Chester stone of the same size."¹³⁸ Of interest is the knowledge that Hamilton had already decided to build with stone from his own quarry on the plantation. He informed Dr. Parke that he was sending quarriers from Glasgow Scotland to Philadelphia. Additionally, that Dr. Parke, was to "employ them during the winter at the quarry where the stones were raised for building the Bridge over the Mill Creek as I think that the best kind of stone."¹³⁹

One other passage indicated, Hamilton's involvement and concern during the planning process. He wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith asking for "dimensions of [his] Side-board" which would only have been important in determining how the interior of a dining space should be detailed to accommodate it.¹⁴⁰ In the same letter he asked to be informed of "the number of feet from the west wall of the House to the East Wall of the Green House at the Woodlands."¹⁴¹ The concern indicates that

Hamilton's early greenhouse was positioned so close to the existing dwelling that there was some question whether an addition to the house might endanger the old greenhouse structure.

There can be no doubt that Hamilton found a talented architect who used "intersecting axes to organize spaces of different forms into a compact [building] block" that represented the latest fashion in English architectural design without imitating any prior one.¹⁶² What was so striking about the design was that it was accomplished so skillfully using the core of the dwelling Hamilton had been modifying prior to his journey. Not only was the design admirably suited to the tastes of Hamilton but to the habits of his expanded family. Only Hamilton could have possessed the intimate knowledge which produced such masterly results in the dwelling as well as the dependencies. It was solely due to William Hamilton's understanding of his Schuylkill River site that the architectural elements not only reinforced each other but united so harmoniously with the landscape.

It did appear that Hamilton was planning extensive alterations to his pre-existing pleasure ground at The Woodlands in tandem with the architectural design modifications which he seems to have commissioned in London. Although a quantity of trees, shrubs and roots had been shipped to Philadelphia earlier in 1785, it was not until

September, concurrent with requests for stone samples, that an energetic set of instructions were issued by Hamilton respecting the sowing of seeds, selective transplanting, and the collection of large quantities of "handsome small plants" from local environs in Pennsylvania.¹⁶³ Hamilton did not even exclude the prospect of securing "valuable plants" from the widow of "Young the Botanist", recently deceased, who had maintained "a kind of nursery in Kinsessing."¹⁶⁴ William Hamilton suggested that both Dr. Parke and Mr. Smith exert themselves in purchasing from Young's wife "several [plants] that [could not] easily be obtained" and "which would be of material use to me."¹⁶⁵ In addition, he informed Benjamin Hayes Smith that he had intentions of "shipping another very large collection of plants [for which] no time should be lost in preparing ground" to receive them.¹⁶⁶ Hamilton asked for a "more particular account" of plants previously shipped to Philadelphia so that he could "supply whatever vacancies" there were in the upcoming winter shipment, that being in his mind, "the best season for transporting plants."¹⁶⁷ All of these decisions and judgements indicated Hamilton's advanced knowledge of botany and landscape gardening.

By the concurrence of William Hamilton's heightened interest in the accumulation of plant materials for a revitalized "parke" and garden scheme and his preparation for a new building campaign, he signaled his awareness of the

interplay of landscape elements and architecture. He acknowledged the importance of a unified concept while, at the same time, he lamented his inability to achieve such unity with dispatch upon his return to The Woodlands. He wrote to Dr. Parke that:

Altho the state of my finances will not allow me to do much at present & the improvements must necessarily be gradual, it will be proper however to fixe on some general plan for the whole.¹⁶⁸

No doubt, in reading his copy of Observations of Modern Gardening, Hamilton took to heart a principle tenet of picturesque philosophy which holds that an intimate relationship must exist between architecture and gardening; a tenet succinctly expressed by Thomas Whately:

Nature, always simple, employs but four materials in composition of her scenes, ground, wood, water, and rocks. The culmination of nature has introduced a fifth species, the building requisite for the accommodation of men.¹⁶⁹

Hamilton, as did Thomas Jefferson fourteen years later, sought to emulate the style of the English garden which was rooted in the romantic picturesque philosophy.¹⁷⁰ Like Jefferson Hamilton realized, much to his delight, that his American plantation contained all the requisite ingredients, ground, wood, water, rocks, occurring quite naturally, and that it required comparatively little alteration to achieve a picturesque assemblage of buildings and extended landscape. The relative ease with which he could, once again, improve The Woodlands suited his "streighten'd [financial]

situation."¹⁷¹

William Hamilton did not deviate from his vision for The Woodlands or his conviction "that England could boast of no material advantage over America by nature."¹⁷² The "disaffection," of which Hamilton was accused, related to his uncertainty over the soundness of a political break with England but never touched the love for the land of America. He was, however, still haunted by the fact that in England:

There are elegancies & conveniences in consequence of wealth, improvements & populousness, that it will be a long time before we shall enjoy, & there is a degree of Happiness in the reflection of living under a good & fixed government, that nothing can compensate for the want of.¹⁷³

In his next letter to Dr. Thomas Parke, Hamilton appears to continue this thought with the resolution to put it behind him knowing that England, "as delightful as [that] country is, had [no] charms for [him] without a great deal of Money."¹⁷⁴ He acknowledges that "there is a society in our own, preferable to anything [in England], & were the government of America only equal to its gifts from nature, I must own I should prefer it to every other."¹⁷⁵

Hamilton's uneasiness in 1785, with the feeble and inefficient Confederation government could not stifle his conviction that America's virtues by nature held his loyalty.¹⁷⁶ He had to admit that "every hour that I exist I find myself more attach'd to America, & more fully persuaded

that I cannot be so happy anywhere as with my friends there."¹⁷⁷

He resolved, on his return to America, that he would "endeavour to make it smile in the same useful & beautiful manner."¹⁷⁸ Hamilton was obviously making reference to The Woodlands plantation but his declaration did seem also to suggest that through accomplishment and improvement of The Woodlands, America herself would benefit from the example. Hamilton, conceivably, was attempting to elevate his fellow countrymen's consciousness of contemporary trends and thus hasten the country's progress. This, after all, was and had been the goal of gentlemen agriculturalists and cultivators in the 18th and early 19th centuries.¹⁷⁹

Several of Hamilton's statements prior to his departure from England indicate, he considered himself to be a disseminator of progressive ideas. Moreover, he did not consider the areas of his contributions to be confined to architecture, landscape design, and botanical enterprise but also to accomplishment and improvement in experimental farming. In all of these areas, he felt, that there was no better place to demonstrate the ideas he had brought back from England than on his Schuylkill River plantation.

His contribution to the advancement of domestic architectural design was immediately obvious upon completion of his dwelling and dependencies. The lesson, though, was

not entailed just in the design and arrangement of varied spaces within a compact block but also in the fact that the actual building was done "on a saving plan."¹⁸⁰ This "saving plan" was accomplished by procuring in England "materials in the way of finishing & furnishing" which "besides lessening the Expense [afforded] a great saving of time."¹⁸¹ Hamilton did not itemize the materials but did say that he was sending "my carriage, servants, &c."¹⁸² In addition, labor costs were also minimized by engaging Glasgow stone quarriers" on moderate terms "who would live at The Woodlands and raise all the stones" from the plantations's quarry which were requisite for the various structures.¹⁸³

Hamilton's participation in advancing English landscape gardening did not lie only in the acclaim his pleasure grounds received. This occupation with landscape design, through his promoting it as a fine art coupled with his attention to it as an intellectual exercise, met with equal approbation.¹⁸⁴ Quite likely, the demonstration that architecture and landscape design could be so inextricably linked in "beauty and use" was the crowning achievement of The Woodlands in the 18th and early 19th century.

However, it was also in the collection of plants for display and study, that William Hamilton may well have had no equal in America at the close of the 18th century.¹⁸⁵ This extensive garden provided a base of general knowledge for

several botanists whose contributions to the field of natural science were of recognized importance.¹⁸⁶ Undeniably, Hamilton's most insightful and congratulatory praise came from Thomas Jefferson himself who wrote to him, saying that:

"your collection is really a noble one & in making & attending to it you have deserved well of your country."¹⁸⁷

Interestingly, there was practically no acknowledgement of Hamilton for his efforts to advance agricultural practice, even though his engagement in it lasted for twenty years, beyond his return from England. Hamilton's recognition of the effects of concentrated applications of dung preceded his trip to England.¹⁸⁸ His use of "plaister of Paris" to stimulate growth dates back to at least the fall of 1785.¹⁸⁹ His belief that he could contribute to enhanced production for the benefit of others was most telling in an offer he wished Dr. Parke to make to his gardener, Mr. Thomson.

For my own part I think he could not do better than to cultivate a piece of ground as a garden to send vegetables to market & nursery for raising good fruit trees in a more extensive manner than has been hitherto done in Pennsylvania. Such a spot he might have of me if he chose it & I could bring with me from hence many matters in the gardening way that would be of service to him.¹⁹⁰

Still further evidence of Hamilton's interest in transporting new agricultural technology to America is found in one of his last letters before leaving England. He wrote that "in the County of Norfolk plough shares & coulter of cast iron are found to answer so well."¹⁹¹ To Dr. Parke, Hamilton went on

to say that they were "therefore well worth the tryal in our country &. I intend making the experiment."¹⁹²

Hamilton's sojourn in England could be looked upon as a great disappointment in that he was unable to meet his "first objective [which was] to extricate [himself] from every [financial] difficulty."¹⁹³ He did, however, succeed in returning to America "with many articles that [were] not only useful to [himself] but to others."¹⁹⁴ It was certain he saw himself as a benefactor to his countrymen. Yet the importance he attached to that goal and aspiration had to be overshadowed and tempered by the more personal functions he had to fulfill as family financial trustee and as concerned guardian. Nonetheless, in his last extant letter sent to Dr. Thomas Parke from England, he congratulated himself for taking the initiative to bring back to America items and ideas which would be counted and found to be significant contributions in later days. He said that: "I have the vanity to think I shall be thereby enabled to introduce many conveniences & improvements that will be useful to my country as well as myself."¹⁹⁵

Hamilton was not alone in shipping English items back to Philadelphia. Other Philadelphians of his social circle, also in England at the time, were equipping themselves with goods and possessions that would mark their affluence.¹⁹⁶ Hamilton's "carriage, servants, &c.", which he chose to ship ahead of his

own departure, certainly suggested participation in the import of fashionable and status accessories. His remarks, however, indicated some disdain for ostentation, favoring instead the choice of items based on their pleasuring his own taste and affording him comfort.¹⁹⁷ His acquisition of household appointments in England, unlike that of some of his friends, was based more on economic considerations and practicality. Not only could such goods be had "in better taste" from England but they were "cheaper than in America."¹⁹⁸ In addition, he was "under the necessity of furnishing [himself] with many other necessary matters having disposed of nearly all [his] furniture &c. on [his] going to England."¹⁹⁹ He did, of course, indulge his gardening interests and one of his parting comments informs D. Parke that: "by the last of these ships you will receive some plants & other matters for me."²⁰⁰

William Hamilton "determine[d] on a May passage" from England with an arrival in America occurring in the first half of July 1786.²⁰¹ On July 13th, Jasper Yeates sent Hamilton a letter congratulating him on his "safe return to Philad. a" with the hope that his "tour [had] been as pleasurable as [he] expected."²⁰² Hamilton wrote back to "heartily thank" Yeates and implored him to collect the overdue interest on the different bonds or to "proceed to the immediate sale of the Lands [bond security] in such manner as to obtain for him

whatsoever the Law entitles [him] to."²⁰³

Unfortunately for Hamilton, there was a "want of buyers" and the sheriff, who foreclosed, was unable to sell them.²⁰⁴ Hamilton was not only unable to collect on the loans he had made or to recoup the losses through sale of the collateral, but he was plagued by the "scandalous tardiness [of his other] debtors."²⁰⁵ Hamilton's "infinite uneasiness" was further compounded.²⁰⁶ He wrote to Jasper Yeates saying that: "what increases the evil is my want of success in almost every application I have made to obtain money from other parts of my Estate."²⁰⁷

The dilemma Hamilton found himself in was similar to that which plagued others after the war. Men of means had depended heavily on their landholdings and acceptance of bonds for operating capital. They had borrowed cash against the expectation of forthcoming rent and interest monies. Unfortunately, due to scarcity of cash, payments became grossly delinquent. Financial embarrassment and ruin were not uncommon.²⁰⁸ The state of depression, which existed in America through the years of 1784 and 1785, made many of the merchant class and others of the Philadelphia elite uneasy.²⁰⁹

There could be little wonder then at Hamilton's anxiety due to the "urgency of [his] occasions."²¹⁰ He repeatedly writes to Jasper Yeates imploring him to prosecute for payment

on bonds of several individuals and to endeavour to assist him in "abatement in cases of arrears" from the Lancaster estate.²¹¹ Most grievous to Hamilton was the default on a mortgage given to Mr. Mark Bird and separate overdue obligations of Mr. John Callender, Mr. Richardson , and Mr. Seely. He explained to Jasper Yeates that:

so fully did I rely (when in England) on this moneys being shortly forthcoming that I anticipated to a considerable amount on the score of it & when I found myself disappointed was obliged to hasten home & previous to my departure from that country to borrow money at a large premium.²¹²

Hamilton felt that he could "no longer delay to fulfill [his] engagements [for] not only [would it] occasion [him] some serious trouble, but be injurious to [his] reputation."²¹³

William Hamilton had indeed grounds for worry. The Messrs. Barclays had advanced him L2000 sterling and he was not able to repay his own debt, as he expected, or his Uncle's debt.²¹⁴ He was "dunned to death for these 5 or 6 months & at length threatened with a lawsuit."²¹⁵ Hamilton feared that if "the sale of Mr. Bird's land [did not] immediately take place [that he would] have no alternative but to dispose of [his] lot opposite the State House as the most saleable part of [his own] property."²¹⁶ Although this "would greatly mortify [him] to be driven to such a measure," Hamilton felt that it might have been his only salvation.²¹⁷ He most certainly viewed his financial failure as having even more dire consequences to him personally when he wrote to Yeates that: "it is incumbent on

me to do justice to my honour which is really engaged in the matter."²¹⁸

Related to this financial dilemma was the fact that he was funding his nephews living and educational expenses in England. Since money due to him was not to be had, William Hamilton was several times forced to give his bond to "Mr. Robert Morris" so that remission could be made "to England for the use of [his] nephews."²¹⁹ Naturally, the inability to capitalize on his land assets further impacted his "usual family expenses, which from circumstances [were] at this time great."²²⁰ Hamilton's distress on this score was evident when he remarked to Jasper Yeates:

You will have no difficulty in supposing a considerable sum must have been requisite for my necessary family arrangements on my return & will therefore form some idea of the inconveniences I have experienced. I have literally speaking, been frequently situated as I am at present without cash for the most common & necessary family occasions.²²¹

Such irksome circumstances could not long be tolerated by Hamilton who had been used to living in a different manner, without "the difficulty of practicing an economy to which [he had] been unaccustomed."²²²

He sought to ease some of his immediate cash flow problems by breaking small parcels of grassland and a tenant property away from the Bush Hill tract as individually leased plots. Hamilton made smaller divisions of his Woodland plantation and made them available on "improving lease[s] for

a long and easy term."²²³ Numerous lots in the City of Philadelphia were also advertized as being available for lease. In addition, Hamilton put up for sale his "800 acres of land in Hunterdon County, West New Jersey."²²⁴

William Hamilton's desire to have his family and himself situated at The Woodlands had thus far been thwarted. The "additions & repair to [his] House at The Woodlands for family occasions require[d] more than [he was] able to raise from other parts of [his] estate."²²⁵ In 1787, contrary to his wishes, he was maintaining both, The Woodlands and the Bush Hill estate, since the later had a large dwelling and could accommodate his family and servants. Due to his inability to remove his family from the dwelling, he had to reluctantly postpone his "treaty with Mr. Bingham for the letting of Bush Hill."²²⁶

Mr. Bingham could not wait for the mansion at Bush Hill to be vacated since William Hamilton was not able to move his family into the renovated Schuylkill River dwelling until it was substantially completed several years later. Nearly eleven months after the Hamilton family left Bush Hill, in the fall of 1789, Vice President John Adams and his wife moved into the Bush Hill house and resided there for several years.²²⁷ The 154 acres of the Bush Hill estate by this time had been divided "into small portions & [let] in such manner as to avoid an immensity of taxes & to produce an handsome

Income of which they certainly [were] capable."²²⁸ (Figure 21 and 22)

Since the time of William Hamilton's return from England in 1786, his objective was to "hurry the finishing of [his] house [at The Woodlands] as [would] accommodate [his] family."²²⁹ He wrote to Jasper Yeates in the fall of 1787 saying: "You will not wonder at my anxiety to be once more fixed at my favourite spot where for near 20 years of my life I experienced so much happiness."²³⁰ At this point "the addition to [his] House at The Woodlands [was] not yet cover'd in, & [he] consequently [could] be ill spared from it."²³¹

Hamilton applied much of his energy, during the years of 1787-1790, to the finishing of The Woodlands mansion and his pleasure grounds. By necessity, he also had to keep the unleased portions of Bush Hill in good order. Periodic repairs at Bush Hill required that he shift his master carpenter, John Child, away from work at The Woodlands.²³² Depending upon the time of year, farm hands were moved between the two estates to make hay, plough, cut wood, "hawl" dung, transport stone, fill the ice house, or mend fences.²³³ These were but a few of the general activities essential to the smooth operation of his plantations. The cropping and weeding of his kitchen garden, the "necessary attendance on the hot bed", and the close care required to operate the hot house and greenhouse at The Woodlands were even more exacting matters.²³⁴

The husbandry of fruit trees in the orchard along with the shrubs, plants, and flowers throughout the pleasure ground were concerns that demanded strict attention. Hamilton wrote to Jasper Yeates explaining the need for his involvement this way:

I have at present no Overseer, nor have I indeed anybody in the capacity of a Gardener so that I have particularly to attend to every thing at The Woodlands in those Branches.²³⁵

Hamilton's statement makes clear how skilled he was as a manager of very practical landscape matters.

Hamilton would have been well pleased if he could have personally orchestrated everything that was taking place at The Woodlands. In fact, it vexed him that he could not attend to "planting & making many necessary arrangements."²³⁶ Hamilton even wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith, in June 1788, saying: "the only difficulty which occurs is how you will be able to do without me."²³⁷

Increasingly, Hamilton had to travel to his Lancaster estate and stay for extended periods in attempting to collect rents due him. Jasper Yeates, his agent, was a Circuit Jurist, and found that he could not devote time to Hamilton's estate. Since Yeates could not even determine what length of time he would be involved in court cases throughout the province, Hamilton decided that he had to adopt "decisive measures."²³⁸ He wrote to Jasper Yeates saying: "my occasions call for every exertion in my power & as I am persuaded the

arrears if paid will not only relieve me from constant vexations but place me in comfortable situation I cannot hesitate to determine as to my part."²³⁹ Two months later he wrote another letter to Yeates saying:

when the claim I have there is considered it is certainly hard, very hard, I should be so great a sufferer But I am determined to be not longer so if application & perseverance will prevent it, & on my next visit to ye Borough will apply without distinction at every House whose tenant is indebted to me to the value of a crown piece.²⁴⁰

He elaborates on his decision several paragraphs later when he said to Yeates:

Be the consequence what it may I am resolved on the tryal for from its present situation, the Lancaster estate is comparatively but a name. Two years have nearly elapsed since my return from England during which all the cash it has yielded to me on the score of Income & Arrears amounts not to L1000 currency. Taxes it is true to the tune of three or four hundred pounds have been paid, but this added to the first sum, will fall short of the Income which I take it is upwards of L1000 pr. An.n. so that the arrears which are now more than L8000 currency, must be on the encrease.²⁴¹

Of course William Hamilton had other estates to which he looked for revenue, but they too proved to be deficient.²⁴² He remarked to Jasper Yeates:

It was but last week my agent [Mr. Jno. Emley] from Jersey brought me in lieu of specie L200 Jersey paper which is in that country a legal tender, altho depreciated 25 percent. The stoppage of the paper last week has put me as well as almost everybody in town to difficulties.²⁴³

Months later he wrote to Jasper Yeates that:

My agent in Jersey can obtain nothing from my estate there but the paper of that state which it would be ruinous to take there being only a difference

between it an specie of 50 pr. cent.²⁴⁴

Considering that all his assets were tied up in land that did not yield sufficient revenue, but nonetheless obliged him to pay taxes upon it, it was not hard to understand why Hamilton remarked to Yeates: "You will judge how irksome must be my situation."²⁴⁵ This coupled with the failure of several men to "discharge the whole" of their mortgages and bonds nearly crippled Hamilton to the point where he barely had "sufficiency for family & building occasion."²⁴⁶ His dependence on one mortgage payment in particular was nearly disastrous to his plans. He told Jasper Yeates that:

from the assurances [Mr. Richardson] gave me I rely'd on his money to proceed in the addition to my house at The Woodlands. You who have had your hands in mortar are sensible of the good effects of punctuality in payment of workmen.²⁴⁷

There can be little doubt that one of the reasons The Woodlands mansion took so long in completion had to do with poor cash flow. Just at the time Hamilton needed money the most, for his plans to move forward at The Woodlands, he found that "money [was] as scarce [in Lancaster] to the full as at Philad.a."²⁴⁸ Despite the lack of cash, Hamilton forged ahead with his building campaign. In lieu of cash, from Lancaster, he extracted goods and services that were directly applied to The Woodlands. He informed Jasper Yeates of the arrangement in a letter written January 30, 1789:

By the Cash Book you will observe the Rents which have been rec.d during the last fortnight, although a good deal of these has been pd. in workmanship,

services &c.²⁴⁹

A hint at what form the rent payments took was evident in Hamilton's request that Yeates send him "milk white marble [from] a Quarry in the neighborhood."²³⁰ On another occasion Hamilton requests that Yeates arrange for "a quantity of well season'd wild cherry plank [to be delivered] at The Woodlands."²³¹ Numerous letters refer to articles of ironwork that Hamilton is desirous of having made in Lancaster. He wrote from Lancaster to Benjamin Hayes Smith, desiring him to:

Let me know from Mr. Childs [master carpenter] what kind of nails and also the Quantity which will be probably wanting for the Business of the Stable greenhouse lodge &c. in order that I may bespeak them here.²³²

In the fall of 1789 he tells Smith that:

I desire that he [Childs] may directly make models of the weights of all the windows & that will forward them by the stage with the number that will be wanting so that I may direct for their being cast before I leave this.²³³

In October of the following year Hamilton wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith informing him that:

Mr. Child should be desired to forward directly the dimensions & [?] of the Iron rails & also the dimensions which would be proper for the Iron Grates.²³⁴

Building materials were probably supplied from his Jersey estate in lieu of cash rent payments as well. A suggestion of that appeared in two letters sent to Smith in June of 1789 saying:

I take it for granted you have been in Jersey & that the scantling [heavy timber] will be ready for the stable immediately on my return.²⁵⁵

Goods supplied from the Lancaster estate were not solely comprised of items relating to building materials alone. In June of 1790, Hamilton asked Smith to "tell [his] mother [he has] got some homespun linen & 30 odd yds. of good Huckabach & a remnant of linsey."²⁵⁶ Later that year he wrote to Smith saying:

I requested you also before I left Home to give me a pattern of the Livery cloth & a mem'm of the Quantity that is left in order that I may here supply the deficiency.²⁵⁷

Still other items sent to The Woodlands from Lancaster were "sundry articles such as some grubbing hoes axes &c."²⁵⁸ Hamilton remarked that even his tenant "Mr. K. [Jacob Krug] has I fancy forgotten my cherry trees which promised long since to forward."²⁵⁹ This practice of taking payment in the form of goods and services continued for years. Two years later, in August 1792, Hamilton wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith from Lancaster:

I wish he would put down on paper & return me by the stage an exact account of the several sizes of the different green House Tubs. The Cooper in this town pretty deeply indebted to me would be glad of the job of making them.²⁶⁰

William Hamilton's earlier declaration that it would "be highly necessary for [him] to set out on the most economical plan" at The Woodlands was followed through in practice.²⁶¹ Not only did he make the most use of the resources from other

parts of his estate but he made sure that the natural assets of The Woodlands were capitalized on as well. The mansion and all of the dependencies were constructed with stone quarried on the property.²⁶² Other uses of stone from the quarry were evident by Hamilton's remark to Benjamin Hayes Smith.

I shall be much disappointed if you omit getting Mealey to raise the stones for the area which ought to be paved immediately on my return.²⁶³

A "Gravel pit" was also on the property from which gravel was extracted and mixed with earth for Road repairs near the lodges.²⁶⁴ The "terrace walk" also was constructed of this gravel.²⁶⁵ Hamilton revealed yet another use for gravel when he gave Smith this instruction:

Billy should carry a cartload or two of gravel or Earth & some cedar Bushes to the Dam. I observed today the Hole on the Lower side to have lately much encreased.²⁶⁶

Sand was also in supply from ground near "ye mill dam side", and used, in mixture with slacked lime for plaster.²⁶⁷ Gathering of sand for use as a component of plaster appears to have been a winter activity by the following account:

Secure the Ice which it is high time to attend to on every acc.t & when the teams are hawling at The Woodlands the Sand at Jacksons Rock should be got up el'se the plaistring will be kept back when the weather breaks.²⁶⁸

Ice, too, was a commodity, albeit a perishable one, that large estates could not do without for use as a refrigerant during the warm months of the year. There was hurried

activity when it formed, in the winter, to get it cut into blocks from ponded areas and "hawled" to the estate's ice house. In a letter written to Benjamin Hayes Smith, Hamilton expressed his agitation:

You say not a word respecting the Ice House. I take it for granted if not before done the present opportunity of filling it has not been lost.²⁶⁹

Ice houses, typically, were built as a dry well with a large diameter, its wall lined with brick. Blocks of ice were lowered into it, stacked in alternating layers with hay, that acted as an insulator, until the structure was filled to the surface. These subterranean pits showed little above ground except for an earthen mound into which was set an access door.²⁷⁰ The Woodland's ice house was of an unusually large diameter, built into the highest hillock and a major feature within the pleasure ground.²⁷¹

A plantation, the size of Hamilton's required, substantial quantities of wood for fuel and cooking purposes. While it took an average of nearly five cords of wood, annually, for a typical working class household to meet requirements, it had to take many times more that amount to fulfill the needs of affluent families with larger homes.²⁷² The quantity Hamilton's family required may have been indicated by an invoice found in The Woodlands household accounts collection dated January 27, 1786: "to cutting 48 cords of wood--L9.12."²⁷³ The Woodlands mansion conceivably

could have burned a sizeable portion of this during every year's cold months since it was equipped with at least ten fireplaces, one kitchen fireplace, two bake ovens, and two "cannon stove."²⁷⁴ "Independent of wood for house use", Hamilton had to be assured of a sufficiency for "fire in the Hot House" and "fire in the Green House during such severe weather."²⁷⁵ Prior to the completion of the mansion's reconstruction at The Woodlands, there were "these many loads of wood hawl'd" from the Schuylkill plantation to Bush Hill where the family was in temporary residency. Cutting wood at The Woodlands was a timber management affair for Hamilton which was borne out in his instructions to laborers to "mark [only] the dead trees from fuel or the wood will suffer."²⁷⁶ Hamilton further lectured that, it would "be truly in the stile [sic] of good management" to take "dung over everytime they go to The Woodlands for Wood."²⁷⁷ Hamilton not only viewed this as efficient but as contributing to the savings in labor costs and preventing the "road [from being] cut to pieces" by the wagons when springtime rains rendered the dirt roads vulnerable.²⁷⁸

Husbanding dung for use as fertilizer was an ongoing practice with William Hamilton. He appeared to be following a method of holding his cows in a barnyard during the winter months so their dung would not be scattered without effect over the fields but accumulated for specific distribution.

Evidence of this appeared when he wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith instructing him to have two laborers "take ye cow dung out of the ditch in the pen it must not be hawled from thence until my return."²⁷⁹ Hamilton not only husbanded his animals' dung for application in specific areas but also knew that certain types of dung were suited to particular use. The instructions in a letter to Smith illustrated this clearly:

It should be carefully preserved in some place by itself being all rotten neats dung. Its being laid with the 2 loads of cow dung in one Heap in the Garden will be as well as any where else. The load of hogs dung however already there should be kept separate by itself as I have a particular use for it. For some purposes it is the finest manure for potted plants if used with moderation.²⁸⁰

Obviously, to have the advantage of using manure as a fertilizer, it was required to possess the animals from which it was a by-product. Hamilton kept an assortment of domestic animals. Tax records for Blockley Township revealed that cattle, cows and horses comprised the greatest quantity of animals on The Woodlands plantation.²⁸¹ George Hilton, Hamilton's trusted servant, kept hogs there.²⁸² Sheep were maintained, some presumably for lawn grooming, but others were reserved to supply the family with meat as indicated by a passage from Hamilton's letter to Smith.

In case you should have to kill any mutton during my absence I do desire some attention may be paid to have the right sort. William Slade tells me that the last was killed was far gone with Lamb. How shameful it is in our people to be so inattentive. While there are Wethers there is no need to take a Lamb which will be so much more serviceable in the

spring.²⁸³

There is also an indication that Hamilton may have raised turkeys for his family's consumption.

Colin's two frames of cabbage & lettuce plants will suffer if they are not open to the Sun every Day & if they are not secured from the turkies they will all go to the Devil. If a piece of netting could be thrown over them in the day it would be the best preservative.²⁸⁴

Domestic animals had to be fed during months when pasturage was not available. Hamilton's efforts to avoid the cost of buying feed were made by prudently cropping his fields. Hamilton was continually admonishing Smith about the necessity of having oats for his horses. If conditions for planting were propitious he instructed oats to be planted in the open fields as well as within the orchard.

If there should not be any thing of rain at The Woodlands there will be no use in attempting to sow oats But in case of rain I am told here they will do very well even if sown in June & therefore I would have you stir your stumps to get the Rock field and orchard & strawberry Hill sown the moment there comes a serious rain.²⁸⁵

June also was a time for the "oats [to be] thrashed" which, taken with the fact he was sowing that same month, suggests attempts at a two crop yield in one season.²⁸⁶

June and October appeared to be months set aside for haymaking and Hamilton was keenly interested in being at home to supervise the work. He wrote to Jasper Yeates on May 7, 1790, that: "I must be at Home again by Haymaking time."²⁸⁷ When he was unavoidably detained in Lancaster, on business,

he sent instructions home to Smith.

The hay at The Woodlands should as much as will go therein be put into ye stable Lofts & ye remainder it should be put into a round stack out of the way of the new stable. Whatever is mowable on the Ice H. Hill or elsewhere & hawled by Miller should be cut for god knows we shall be in want of it.²⁸⁸

Hamilton seemed particularly grieved in October, 1790, when he wrote to Smith:

Pray is any thing yet done as to mowing the south end of the orchard. In the low state of our hay & with the number of mouths to feed a load or two of hay is worth thinking about especially when it is so likely to be dear.²⁸⁹

Haymaking was immediately followed by turning the soil. It was of importance to Hamilton that the two events occur quickly in sequence. He wrote to Smith that "the sooner the mowing at The Woodlands the better in order that the ploughing may be set about."²⁹⁰ In some instances, Hamilton immediately turned the ground back into production.

It would have the same advantage if Saltback would plough round & round so as to make it even for sowing all the piece below his & Harts buckwheat to the water course. The whole of the Rock field could be then sown in March & plaistered on the appearance of grass.²⁹¹

Crop production was exhaustive to the soil and Hamilton understood that turning the soil was not enough. His instructions to plow under the hay stubble were some indication of how he enriched the earth. A clear indication of his acknowledging the purpose of plowing matter under was in a comment to Smith saying:

If there is no time to crop it this fall with rye

I will readily consent to let it be put in summer wheat or barley in the spring provided it be ploughed immediately for the turf to rot during the winter & on condition that when last ploughed it be done smooth for the reception of clover.²⁹²

Hamilton knew, too, that turning the soil could not be done haphazardly. Aside from the necessity of the surface to be smoothed, for seed reception, caution had to be taken to avoid erosion. He informed Benjamin Hayes Smith about this when he wrote:

He may plough the whole in Lands provided he calculates so as to prevent the furrows being left to wash & carry away the Surface--He should plough across & not up & down.²⁹³

Field crops were of obvious importance for sustaining the domestic animals, but Hamilton had an equally important consideration and that was the feeding of his "large family." To supply them with all manner of vegetables and fruit, Hamilton, maintained an immense five-sided kitchen garden at The Woodlands. It was roughly 66,000 square feet (one and one-half acre) in size with six intersecting cross walks and equipped with a garden well in one corner.²⁹⁴ (Figure 23 and 24) Each walk was bordered, on either side, by small, equally spaced apricot, pear, peach or cherry trees. From vague descriptions it seems to have been located northwest of the house within walking distance of the hot house and the stable. The relationship would have been practical since seedling plants could be taken from the hot house and transplanted with ease.²⁹⁵ This placement would have also meant a close location

to the stable and domestic animal's dung as was suggested by Humphry Repton.²⁹⁶ The gentle slope in this area is to the south east, conducive to drainage and providing an ideal exposure to the sun.²⁹⁷

The kitchen garden was kept in constant production during the warm months of the year with spring time seeing the most activity. Several persons were mentioned as being actively engaged in caring for the garden in the spring of 1789.

I would have Conrad finish cleaning & cropping the Kitchen Garden with more peas & beans & you should get some cabbage & collyflower plants & let them all be planted out or we shall be very late with such things. When George [Hilton] & he have hoed & clean'd all the Beds &c. as I directed [?] planted the melons corn carolina lima beans pumpkins & potatoes the walk round be mowed & trimmed nicely before the kitchen ground is left for the Ice House Hill walk.²⁹⁸

The month of June saw another assortment of vegetable seeds planted which included:

carrot Muskmelon & water melons pumpkins Bonnet pepper squashes kidney Beans carolina & Lima Beans early & whisk corn casavances S. American peas & another crop & peas & beans.²⁹⁹

Herbs were not neglected either since Hamilton directed that:

Dill fennel coriander aniseed doub: [double] parsley &c. should all be in the ground.³⁰⁰

Year after year, Hamilton pays particular attention to the planting of cabbage. He wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith:

I hope the garden has not been neglected. There has been a fine season for planting cabbage plants &c. &c. of which our family required to have thousands.³⁰¹

A few weeks later, Hamilton inquires "how many thousand cabbage plants have been planted out?"³⁰² He was concerned that they were planted before a "fine rain" and directed that:

if a favorable offers the transplanting the annuals & planting out cabbage plants & celery should not be omitted.³⁰³

William Hamilton employed the use of a Hot bed for starting some seedlings. He did, as with most everything, give directions for how it should be tended.

The cucumber plants also in the Hot bed & sensitives could be planted if proper pains are taken. If George [Hilton] for one day neglects the necessary attendance on the Hot bed everything in it will be lost. It should be aired & shaded every day & watered gently as frequently as there appears to be occasion.³⁰⁴

He appeared to have used a hot bed arrangement for protecting plants late into the season as well. In November 1792, he referred to "two frames of cabbage & lettuce plants [that] will suffer if they are not open to the Sun every Day."³⁰⁵

A succession of plantings was suggested throughout the summer months with a final effort to tend and plant tolerant seeds for fall vegetables. A note written to Smith in late September 1789 instructs that:

Hilton should be reminded of them & also that there will be not celery this year if he does not earth the plantings continually. It would be proper to have some spinach immediately put into the ground & some radishes & lettuce.³⁰⁶

Hamilton was attentive to what crops succeeded and was compulsive about marking certain varieties, no doubt, so that

seeds could be saved from those that produced well. Indications of this practice were evidenced in an instruction to Benjamin Hayes Smith when he wrote:

The melon boxes may be taken into the garden & the plants taken out & transplanted on forming the 3d leaf into good hills & labell'd.³⁰⁷

Hamilton was equally cautious about assuring the integrity of certain plant varieties. He cautioned Smith that if his laborers chose to:

Sow any seeds of their own saving I desire they may not be put within half a mile of the others [pumpkin seed given me by Mr. F. Smyth] nor within any short distance of my melons.³⁰⁸

It happened that Hamilton was often in Lancaster during the summer months and could not personally attend to gardening matters as he would have liked. He attempted to give instructions by mail but complained often that Smith did not inform him of occurrences in return.

The kitchen garden the cropping of which has cost me so much time & money must require directions from me continually as things come forward or fail, for having no Gardener or other person of Judgement to depend on the garden I am afraid without a recurrence to me must go to the Devil for this year at least.³⁰⁹

One year later the complaint is voiced again.

Knowing so well as you do my anxiety respecting those things I cannot account for your remissness in not mentioning anything about the Garden or the exotics.³¹⁰

Although the kitchen garden was more utilitarian than ornamental, Hamilton took pains to make sure it was kept clean

and weeded.³¹¹ It was apparently on display to visitors just as was the greenhouse complex and it was incomprehensible to him that it should look so untidy.

I am told by persons who have been lately at The Woodlands that kitchen garden is full of weeds. I cannot conceive the reason of this as the hay making was over before my departure.³¹²

Just as information was not forthcoming about the vegetables, neither did it suit Hamilton that he was so deprived of information about the various berries planted at The Woodlands. He wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith in June 1790 saying:

You tell me there are plenty of fine strawberries but do not think it worth while to satisfy my curiosity so far as to particularize the English straws respecting which you know me to be anxious.³¹³

Hamilton also was irritated that he had to ask Smith for information and said that certain items might "be alive or dead for ought [he knew]."³¹⁴ He mentioned several plantings that he thought Smith should have written to him about.

I should however been glad to have heard of their fate as well respecting the Goose berries and antwerp Raspberries given me by Dr. Parke.³¹⁵

When Smith responded, however, Hamilton did not care for the answer.

I am grieve for the loss of the antwerp raspberries which I must attribute solely to the want of water as they were (at least several) in a vegetative state when I came from home.³¹⁶

It seemed that the berries were a favorite that the Hamilton's enjoyed both fresh and preserved. Hamilton's niece

was proficient in processing all manner of the estates production, and berries were certainly an item her uncle desired her not to neglect.

I hope Ann has not let the season pass over without procuring a few quarts of the largest & finest of Hudsons & shoemakers strawberries to preserve.³¹⁷

The fall of the same year, William Hamilton wrote to Smith saying that he "beg[s] Ann [to] set about preserving the Quinces directly."³¹⁸ In the same letter, he designated LO.15.0 of the collected Lancaster monies to be spent for "preserving sugar." Of the estates produce, Hamilton's niece also processed cucumbers. When the opportunity was missed in 1789 due to Smith's negligence, Hamilton reproached him.

I dare to say notwithstanding Ann so frequently told you of the necessity of getting vinegar & sugar for preserves & pickles it has been neglected & neither will be done this year.³¹⁹

It was likely that other berries, fruits and vegetables were preserved although not mentioned specifically. "Quinces (for stock) [grafting], raspberries, currants white & red" were propagated at The Woodlands by at least September 1785.³²⁰ "All of the kinds of grapes that throve of those [Hamilton] sent" from England in 1785 were available on the plantation.³²¹ Besides preserving, there appeared to be another way of processing fruit. In 1785 reference is made to "Cherry Brandy made at The Woodlands."³²² Certain items appearing in The Woodlands household accounts suggest that a purification process was being used to make clear cider, as well.³²³

William Hamilton, while providing for his family's sustenance with vegetables, fruits, berries, and nuts grown at The Woodlands, was quite obviously also experimenting with other plant materials. His caution of marking plants, taking measures that would guard against cross-pollination and noting which plants succeeded or failed, all point to an understanding of scientific methods of production. His devotion to the study of plants, however, was not confined to pure botanical examination or utilitarian propagation but was combined with an appreciation of their natural aesthetic appeal.

Hamilton paid a good deal of attention to the instructions he sent Benjamin Hayes Smith regarding the specific placement of vegetables and other plant materials as to their express visual effect. "The long row of cucumbers along the Locust border" suggested an interesting contrast between a horizontal arrangement of flowering vines and vertical branching of fine leafed trees.³²⁴ Hamilton used visual foil as well. His instructions to Smith made his intent quite clear.

I left a paper with white flowring Bean some convolvulus, Ipomoea nasturtium and Different gourds. I meant to have made a small 3 feet wide Border in front of the necessary skreen of cedars & Lombardy poplars & to have planted some of these runners at the foot of them to run up and hide the dead cedars. What was not used of them I meant to have sown in such manner as to have run over the Espalier as soon as the Border along it was cleand If the Border is done you can have them sowd in such manner as to produce the greatest variety.³²⁵

This description suggests that Hamilton was mixing naturalistic effects with those effects that were more regulated by trellis training. Certainly, the combination would have been approved by Humphry Repton.

Some four years before, while still in England, Hamilton had been impressed by the "effect of Ivy in certain situations especially when growing over Buildings and Arches."³²⁶ He was so positive about the visually enhancing quality of the ivy that he suggested that Smith "plant half a dozen young ones on the east side [facing The Woodlands] of the new Bridge over the Mill Creek."³²⁷ Although the bridge was not on Hamilton's land it was within his sight lines from his pleasure grounds. He was just as desirous of creating pleasing picturesque and romantic effects beyond his plantation boundaries as he was within. When those views could not be altered to contribute to his ideas of beauty he screened them out with vegetation.³²⁸

Visual impact was certainly an aspect of Hamilton's extensive efforts to make his Schuylkill River "parke" and landscape garden pleasing to himself as well as to his visitors. The sense of vision, though, was but only one of the many senses that were engaged by the "parke's" pleasure ground's features. Hamilton provided "clumps of large trees under which [were] places seats where you may rest yourself & enjoy the cool air."³²⁹ The gravel walk which gently meandered through the grounds gave ease to the step. "The

greatest profusion of grapes perfume[d] the air in a most delightful manner."³³⁰ Other plant varieties pleasantly engaged the olfactories when in bloom. Jesamines and honey suckles grew in abundance lacing the air with a cheerful fragrance. Hamilton wrote that "too many of these cannot be propagated."³³¹ Even the borders of walks were lined with flowers which varied with the season. The profusion of plants blossoming in succession, with their varied patterns, colors, scents and tactile sensations, all contributed to a seasonal progression of different experiences in Hamilton's garden.

Considering Hamilton's meticulousness, it is quite probable that his Schuylkill River country seat's scheme was engineered to provide unceasing pleasure and stimulation for anyone who resided there or came to view it. The impression presented by each part of his grounds was of great consequence to Hamilton; that even his kitchen garden was "hoed & cleaned [and] the walk round mowed & trimmed nicely", indicates to what extent the appearance of absolute tidiness was desired.³³² Special attention, however, was lavished on Hamilton's "Exotic yard", where some of his collection of imported plants were "ranged in the most beautiful order" when they were removed from the greenhouse during congenial weather.³³³ On one occasion Hamilton wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith, mentioning the particular state of readiness he desired:

The Exotic yard if I may so call it & all the space between green H & the shop should be made clean & neat as I have no doubt there will be visitors to

view them.³³⁴

No doubt it was at one of the times, when the exotics and greenhouse structures were in especially fine appearance that Hamilton wrote to his friend, Humphry Marshall, saying:

If I can tempt you no other way, [to make a visit to The Woodlands] I promise to shew you many-plants that you have never yet seen some of them curious.³³⁵

It was, William Hamilton's vast greenhouse/hot house complex which made possible the collection and maintenance of exotics the year round. The hot house's function, however, was not reserved for exotics alone. Vegetable seeds were planted in "boxes" for early germination and then transferred to the hot bed for hardening prior to being transplanted into the open beds and rows of the kitchen garden.³³⁶ Cuttings were potted and set on the "Back flue of the Hot House" to encourage new root development.³³⁷ Without the greenhouse and hot house, few of the intense propagation activities could have taken place and none of Hamilton's famous and much lauded collection of varied exotics could have existed.

As The Woodlands mansion neared the point when the entire Hamilton family could move in, William began to make other adjustments with landscape features and the display of the exotics. The repositioning of the exotics was probably an attempt by Hamilton to heighten the arrival experience for the family as well as for the increased number of visitors to be expected as a result of the family's move. Hamilton wrote

to Smith in June 1790:

After the immense pains I took in removing the exotics to the north front of the House by way of Experiment, & the hurry of coming away preventing my arranging them, you will naturally suppose me anxious to know the success as to the plants and the effect as to appearance in the approach & also their security from cattle.³³⁹

Certainly after the "vast expense & trouble of procuring" the exotics he was not about to have them ruined by his own livestock.³³⁹ The proximity of cattle to the house, however, was not unusual. No doubt Hamilton, like Shenstone at Leasowes, saw the "perfect combination" of the plantation's various parts merged into a practical work of art.³⁴⁰ The close association was Hamilton's responsibility, since he desired to emulate it, to find ways of achieving an overall unity while being faithful to the characteristics inherent in the site.

Hamilton did not waste much time in making provisions for restricting the cattle and assuring protection for the exotics as well as a portion of his pleasure ground. He instructed Smith by letter to:

Cut poles & set about the sunk fence beginning at the Barn through which the Ice is hawled & to go from thence to the Fence at the south end of the terrace. Three poles breadth are sufficient if placed & fasten'd at proper distances in the manner the first fence of the sort was made at the ditch on the west side of the Hill along back the bower.³⁴¹

Hamilton, in truth, had constructed a sunk fence or ha-ha prior to the fall of 1785.³⁴² As a landscape device, it

provided a barrier which prevented livestock or wild game from entering the pleasure grounds and garden. Additionally, however, what it allowed was a vista, undisturbed by traditional forms of fencing, a view of the extended plantation, thus visually uniting the farm, woods, park and garden.

Sunk fences were but one of the English landscape contrivances that Hamilton employed at The Woodlands. A border of trees was planted to one side of the orchard. Written instructions to Smith said that:

Hilton should take the remaining poplar cuttings which are unplanted & plant them in the Gaps long the orchard fence next the road placing them as not to exceed a foot from each other.³⁴³

Such close spacing is not surprising in that the normal columnar growth of the poplars would not be impeded but form a thick upright wall of growth. No doubt, the effect was that the fruit trees were protected from either north or west winter winds and that the poplars proved to be exceptional wind breaks.³⁴⁴

Just as he planted trees and shrubs for either utilitarian or artistic effect, William Hamilton cut existing one's out to achieve a specific result. By virtue of how he prudently and selectively removed existing trees, he indicated that he would have found Thomas Jefferson's feelings parallel to his own but perhaps too simplified. Jefferson maintained that:

Gardens [are] peculiarly worthy of the attention of an American, because it is the country of all others where the noblest gardens can be made without expense. We have only to cut out the superabundant plants.³⁴³

An ample growth of trees for Hamilton though was not simply to be cut for the sake of opening vistas or creating coppices. He had to be assured certain species were retained and those removed, made useful. Instructions to Smith for fence making give evidence of this:

The poles cannot be taken from a Better place than the north side of the Middle Run. They may take any thing but White oaks & chesnuts. I say the north side because I would choose to leave the south side undisturbed until I can direct for leaving a few clumps to shew themselves on the Brow from the Road.³⁴⁴

Aside from planting and cutting vegetation and the removal of earth for the creation of sunk fences, little land manipulation seemed called for. Just prior to the family moving to The Woodlands, however, some last minute adjustments appeared to be in order. In a hasty dispatch to Smith from Hamilton in Lancaster came the following:

So anxious am I to have things forwarded at The Woodlands that I have no objection to your immediately hiring an additional labourer provided it will forward the Levelling at the point [Mill Creek] & front of the Lawn & also the Strawberry Hill.³⁴⁷

Perhaps, Hamilton, had reflected one more time on what Whately had to say in the introduction to Observations on Modern Gardening and felt he could do just a bit more in conformance with the passage that said:

The business of a gardener is to show all the advantages of the place [genius loci] upon which he is employed; to supply its defects to correct its faults, and to improve its beauties.³⁴⁸

After the Hamilton family moved to The Woodlands, letters to Smith, dwindle in number and contain less mention of landscape changes or horticultural preparations. Presumably, from the time of William Hamilton's return until the fall of 1790, about 4 years time, many of the planned upgrades and alterations had been completed. Those unfinished items that lingered on were, for the most part, architectural.

Preparations for the new stable began in the fall of 1789 as the mansion was being made weather-tight for interior work to proceed.³⁴⁹ The raising of the stable proceeded with painful slowness; so much so that by June of 1791, it was completely "at a stand."³⁵⁰ Bolts for the girders are mentioned giving an indication the walls might have been nearing completion. Woodland household accounts reveal that an additional foundation was dug which suggests an enlarged project.³⁵¹ No further references were made to the stable and it appeared to be finished by the summer of 1792 when the new greenhouse and lodges were begun by John Peck, a mason in Hamilton's employ.³⁵² Only one other construction project is noted for the summer of 1791 and it was not a building but a courtyard wall of brick.³⁵³ By the fall of 1792 the lodges must have been near completion since Hamilton requested Smith to:

Procure from Jno. Dorsey an account of what rustics & other work of Coades Manufactory amongst it there may be somewhat to serve for the gateway.³⁵⁴

The erection of a new greenhouse in only a few months was very ambitious, especially, since records indicated the entire greenhouse/hothouse complex was 140 feet in length.³⁵⁵ It could have been that the most current construction was merely an extension built onto the old. Whatever its construction history, it was an impressive structure with the greenhouse as a central block flanked by two hothouses.³⁵⁶ Based on a letter to Dr. Thomas Parke, which I found during this research, The Woodlands greenhouse served as the model for Dr. David Hosack's greenhouse complex built in The Elgin Gardens on Manhattan Island. Hosack's letter to Dr. Parke opens with:

I duly received the plans of Mr. Hamiltons green and hot houses. My greenhouse [exclusive of the hothouses] is now finishing--it will not differ very individually from Mr. Hamiltons. It is 62 feet long 23 deep--and 20 high in the clear.³⁵⁷

Comparison of the known lithographed image of the Elgin garden greenhouse/hothouse with the exciting find of the 1846 Cemetery Company site plan as well as an unknown 1806 diary description, of which I recently traced and uncovered, illustrated that indeed the structures were nearly identical.³⁵⁸ (Figures 25 and 26)

With the completion of construction on The Woodlands greenhouse, the last large structure built, Hamilton must have

brought to realization the "general plan for the whole" which he had formulated prior to returning from England.³³⁹ How successful he was in forging the bond between architectural elements and landscape features to form overall unity on his Schuylkill River plantation was evidenced by the comments from his contemporaries. It must be noted that the "considerable improvements at The Woodlands", which Hamilton mentioned to Billy Tilghman Jr. in 1779, had already received acclaim by visitors. A German traveler, the physician Johann David Schoepf, commented in the account of his tour, 1783-84:

The taste for gardening is, at Philadelphia as well as throughout America, still in its infancy. There are not yet to be found many orderly and interesting gardens. Mr. Hamilton's near the city is the only one deserving special mention.³⁴⁰

Following almost two years of alterations, after his return to America, Hamilton received another visitor who recorded the following observations on June 15, 1788:

The moment you enter the grounds you discover all the neatness of the possessor, the road leading to the house is delightful, you wind round a small declivity through a clear wood consisting almost entirely of young trees & through the opening valley you have a distant view of the City--The house is planned with a great deal of taste--The prospect from every room is enchanting, as you enter the hall you have a view of a remarkably fine lawn, beyond that, the bridge over which people are constantly passing, the rough ground opposite to Gray's, four or five windings of the Schuylkill, the intermediate country & the Delaware terminated by the blue mist of the Jersey shore--on one side you see distinctly the City & the surrounding country, on the opposite end, another view of the Schuylkill & the greenhouse--at the back the eye is refreshed with the sight of the most beautiful trees--the whole of this is heightened by mirror doors which when closed

repeats the landscape & has a very fine effect it appears, indeed, like a fairy scene--it would take several days to be perfectly acquainted with the various beauties of the charming place to take in the whole of its beauties.³⁶¹

When this description is compared with a passage that William Hamilton marked, in the margin of his copy of Whately, remarkable resemblances are noted. The passage says that:

Throughout the illustrious scene consistency is preserved in the midst of variety; all the parts unite easily; the plantations in the bottom join to the wood that hangs on the hill; those on the upper grounds of the park, break into groves, which afterwards divide into clumps, and in the end taper into single trees. The ground is various, but it points from all sides towards the lake, and slackening its descent as it approaches, slides at last gently into the water. The groves and the lawns on the declivities are elegant and rich; the fine expanse of the lake, enlivened by the gay plantations on the banks, and the reflection of the bridge upon the surface, animates the landscape; and the extent and the height of the hanging wood give an air of grandeur to the whole.³⁶²

Still another account of The Woodlands was written in 1803; it indicated just how strongly Hamilton may have been influenced by Whately:

This seat is on an eminence which forms on its summit an extended plain, at the junction of two large rivers. Near the point of land a superb, but ancient house built of stone is situated [with] the pleasure grounds, in front, and a little in back of the house. It is formed into walks, in every direction, with borders of flowering shrubs and trees. Between are lawns of green grass, frequently mowed, and at different distances numerous copse of the native trees, interspersed with artificial groves, which are trees collected from all parts of the world.³⁶³

In 1811, yet an additional account spoke of one of the walks

leaving the mansion and proceeding to the point formed by the Schuylkill and Mill Creek.

Now, at the descent, is seen a creek, o'erhung with rocky fragments, and shaded by the thick forest's gloom. Ascending thence, towards the western side of the mansion, the greenhouse presents itself to view, and displays to the observer a scene, than which nothing that has preceded it can excite more admiration.³⁶⁴

It appeared obvious from the numerous attentions The Woodlands received, both in verbal praise and graphic depiction, that Hamilton had, to the satisfaction of many, achieved a picturesque unity. If there was any doubt, Thomas Jefferson, by his letter to William Hamilton in July 1806, settled the question. Following a lengthy statement about retirement from office and the "improvement of [his] grounds reserved for [his] occupation on [his] return home", he tells Hamilton that Monticello "require[ed] much more of the genius of the landscape painter & gardener than [he] pretend[ed] to."³⁶⁵ He then told Hamilton:

There is no one on which you would be received with more pleasure than at Monticello. Should I be there you will have an opportunity of indulging on a new field some of the taste which has made The Woodlands the only rival which I have known in America to what may be seen in England. Thither without doubt we are to go for models in the art.³⁶⁶

Jefferson closes his letter by saying to Hamilton:

I sat down to thank you for kindnesses received, & to bespeak permission to ask for further contributions from your collection & I have written you a treatise on gardening generally, in which art lessons would come with more justice from you to me.³⁶⁷

High acclaim, indeed, for an American landscape composition and, also, lofty praise for Hamilton who was responsible for it and had practiced the art upon his Schuylkill River plantation with such practical knowledge and artistry.

In the last decade of the 18th century and first decade of the 19th century, it was not solely as a gentleman practitioner of the art of landscape gardening that Hamilton was known. He was also skilled in the science of botany which was considered a legitimate pursuit of an educated man of taste. After an unexpected visit to The Woodlands in 1803, the eminent Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler wrote to his daughter, Mrs. Torrey, telling her that the country seat and its garden, "in many respects exceeds any in America." He went on to say that William Hamilton "is himself an excellent botanist."³⁶⁸

It did appear that after the Hamilton family's removal to The Woodlands was complete, and William had brought to conclusion the building campaign, he had more time to devote to his long-time scientific interests. He surely signaled that his botanical activities were expanding with the rebuilding and/ or addition to his greenhouse complex in 1792. The increased flow of letters to and from William Bartram, Thomas Jefferson, Humphry Marshall, George Washington and others who had intense interests in horticulture and botany suggested that Hamilton could dedicate more of his attention to those pursuits he found so enjoyable and fulfilling.

By at least 1795, Hamilton was arranging for the shipment of plants from his collection and Bartram's to other American collectors. Prior to this date, he had been shipping seeds and cuttings to England and had introduced Humphry Marshall's Arbustum Americanum - The American Groves (soon after its publication) to his friends there.³⁶⁹ His shipment, in March of 1792, to George Washington was noteworthy, simply from the stand point, that it suggested he was participating in a venture quite different than the mere exchange of plants among fellow collectors. The quantities, alone, are more indicative of a small commercial enterprise's conveyance. Hamilton arranged for at least 144 of his own plants representing 30 different varieties as well as over 196 "plants of Jno. [John] Bartram," identified as 106 separate varieties, to go by ship from Philadelphia to Mt. Vernon.³⁷⁰ (Appendix I)

Whether or not this transport of plant materials was a hint of a business transaction or a gesture of friendship, it did dispel, to a point, Bernard McMahon's intimation that Hamilton was less than generous. McMahon wrote to Jefferson in 1809 saying:

I have from time to time given Mr. Hamilton a great variety of plants, and altho' he is in every respect a particular friend of mine, he never offered me one in return; and I did not think it prudent to ask him, lest it should terminate that friendship; as I well know his jealousy of any person's attempt to vie with him, in a collection of plants.³⁷¹

This feeling, of course, was purely a personal one on

McMahon's part and his timorous attitude with respect to asking for plants, no doubt, contributed to his not receiving any.

Other gentlemen of Hamilton's acquaintance could not have had the same view of him. Hamilton, "with great pleasure sent [Jefferson] a few seeds" of a variety that Jefferson had particularly desired. Moreover, Hamilton told Jefferson to name "any seeds or plants he may wish to have from The Woodlands collection."³⁷² Hamilton "sent the clod of grass [and seeds] together with a plant of the upright Italian myrtle & one boxed leaved myrtle for Mrs. [George] Washington" in March 1797.³⁷³ In the same letter, Hamilton said:

I trust too that you will at all times when occasions offer command freely whatever is in my power. You may be assured nothing can afford me more real satisfaction than an opportunity of serving you."³⁷⁴

William Hamilton did not restrict his giving to those of great influence. Jasper Yeates wrote to Hamilton that

Mrs. Yeates submits wholly to yourself to send her what garden or flower seeds you can spare. She is informed that you have taken considerable pains in your collection and she has the most thorough reliance on your good taste.³⁷⁵

Hamilton responded:

I have for several days past been so much engaged, as not to have yet had it in my power to look out for some Garden Seeds for Mrs. Yeates which are all at The Woodlands. The day after tomorrow I expect to go there to pass several days in the gardening way & shall not fail to make up the best assortment in my power.³⁷⁶

Dr. David Hosack had no qualms about asking for assistance from Hamilton. He wrote to Dr. Thomas Parke saying:

I hope Mr. Hamilton will have some duplicates which he can supply me with of ye most rare and valuable plants. I shall in return be glad to supply him with anything I may possess. I shall occasionally publish a catalogue of ye plants in my garden for use of my pupils.³⁷⁷

Hosack was equally sure of Hamilton's willing compliance since he told Parke that "from the liberal dispositions of Mr. H. I am satisfied he will cheerfully meet me on this subject."³⁷⁸

Humphry Marshall, too, had a sharing relationship with William Hamilton. Hamilton wrote to Marshall, in November 1796, thanking him for "the seeds you were so good as to send me." He continued:

When I was at your house a year ago I observed several matters in the gardening way different from any in my possession. Being desirous to make my collection as general as possible I beg to know if you by Layers or any other mode sufficiently encreased any of the following kinds so as to be able with convenience to spare a plant of each of them--for all, or any of these, I will pay you any reasonable price you may fix, or if you would prefer having plants in return you may readily command any at The Woodlands of such kinds as I have duplicates of.³⁷⁹

Hamilton continued by telling Marshall that he was sending him "a Box of plants [25 different varieties] with a small packet of seed [that he hoped would] prove acceptable."³⁸⁰

William Hamilton was fond of having fellow enthusiasts visit so they could derive "satisfaction in viewing [his]

exotics."³⁸¹ He wrote to Humphry Marshall that his nephew, Dr. Moses Marshall, had called and that "during his short stay he saw enough to induce him to repeat his visit."³⁸² He went further by telling Marshall that:

I hope when you come next to Philadelphia, that you will allot one whole day, at least for The Woodlands. It will not only give me real pleasure to have your company, but I am persuaded it will afford some amusement to yourself.³⁸³

Obviously, Hamilton's scientific colleagues felt fortunate to be so heartily welcomed. Dr. Henry Muhlenberg wrote to a friend in Georgia that:

Mr. Hamilton is indefatigable in collecting the living American Plants and generously lets me have the sight of them when I visit him at his Woodlands.³⁸⁴

If anything, William Hamilton was rather liberal with his friends and showed no more guardedness than did his fellow collectors.³⁸⁵ What may have appeared parsimonious to some was, in all probability, no more than the expected cautiousness of an art collector who possessed several masterpieces. Furthermore, this was "a time when the introduction of rare exotics [and newly discovered domestics] was attended with a vast deal of risk and trouble."³⁸⁶

Aside from the pleasurable activities related to botany and horticulture, William Hamilton was kept busy personally managing The Woodlands plantation and tending to his estate affairs in the last decade of the 18th century. A letter to James Lyle, in the fall of 1792, mentions that he was

frequently "employ'd in the superintendence of a number of workmen."³⁸⁷ Since he had mentioned being without an "Overseer" over two years prior, it stands to reason that Hamilton found it far more effective and possibly less irksome to handle the daily operation of The Woodlands on his own.

With similar thought, Hamilton took over the management of his Lancaster estate in October 1790.³⁸⁸ Jasper Yeates had been so engaged in the circuit court affairs and away from Lancaster for more prolonged spans of time that he had been unable to devote as much attention to the estate as Hamilton thought necessary. In December of 1790, Yeates wrote to Hamilton advising him that the balance of the salary Hamilton proposed to him was "perfectly satisfactory." He continued by telling Hamilton: "I freely declare that your Resuming the Agency of the Estate neither injured my feelings nor run counter to my Wishes."³⁸⁹

William Hamilton had not much more success than Yeates in collecting rents and, after four years of applying himself assiduously, complained about the "business of this truly troublesome estate."³⁹⁰ Equally bothersome were properties in Sussex Co. [Delaware] which finally, in November of 1792, he told Smith:

I am happy to find a greater probability of disposing of the whole of the Sussex land during the next year & also that I have by no means overrated them.³⁹¹

Another property, known as the Indian Orchard Tract in Wayne

County, Pennsylvania, contained 8,373 acres and was so vast, it required a full-time agent to administer.³⁹² Yet another parcel of ground in Maryland, known simply as Nottingham, kept Hamilton on the road to either Baltimore or Annapolis trying to direct its performance.³⁹³

By the fall of 1794, William Hamilton told Benjamin Hayes Smith that he would "endeavour to bring the business [of all his properties] to a determination."³⁹⁴ Perhaps, wearied by the travel and the headaches, he wanted to ease himself out of his business as landlord. Even The Woodlands came into his thinking. He wrote to Smith saying:

I will also endeavour to found such a system for the improvement of ye Woodlds. in the line of profit & for the economy of my family as will finally put me into a situation of encreasing wealth. I now see it clearly within reach.³⁹⁵

Hamilton gave no further explanation of what was in his mind respecting The Woodlands. Perhaps he was beginning to visualize the importance of his land, where it was positioned and how he might capitalize on it.

Hamilton, by this time, was negotiating with David Jones for the Mill property which separated The Woodlands to the southeast from Gray's property at the Lower Ferry. The necessity of purchasing this tract was tied to some development at Middle Ferry. Hamilton linked the two in a remark to Smith.

A conversation I had yesterday with Mr. Bingham respecting Middle Ferry makes this measure [purchase of the mill] important to me in the extreme for if

this opportunity is lost I shall never have another.³⁹⁶

This cryptic comment coupled with the fact that Hamilton owned "a lot of ground extending 396 feet, being the whole front of a square on Market Street, situate between Schuylkill Front and Second Streets," raises the possibility that he was embarking on a great speculation.³⁹⁷

If there was a renewed impetus to, finally, build the permanent bridge at Middle Ferry and Hamilton owned property on both sides of the Schuylkill River adjacent to Market Street, his whole river plantation would stand to gain. If he owned all the property on the west side of the river, from Market Street and Middle Ferry down to the Lower Ferry at Gray's, it meant he could control any thoroughfare that linked the two points. He would also own a potentially productive mill site where increased raw goods transport would have to pass. Although this may have been what Hamilton was thinking, it can not yet be proved beyond its economic feasibility and as a theoretical probability.

As with so many of William Hamilton's efforts to underpin his family's financial security and his plantation's ongoing operation with a revenue producing enterprise, the opportunity he envisioned between 1792-94 never materialized. By 1795, however, he announced to Smith "how nearly [he was from being] extricated from Difficulty."³⁹⁸ Several years prior he had finally been able to satisfy the debt he and his late Uncle

had with the Barclays. His remaining debts had been incurred, as they had in the past, simply because none of the properties owned produced a sufficiency of cash. Further difficulties, in paying his bills, resulted from his having to wait for court action against those who were heavily indebted to him. Even when he was awarded settlement, it usually was in the form of more land.

William Hamilton staved off financial embarrassment and continued to provide for his family's well-being. He was able to retain continuously several domestics and plantation workmen. To his great relief, he did not have to curtail the one activity which brought him delight, the collection and nurture of rare plants from all corners of the world. In fact, his exotics collection grew along with his stature as a man devoted to the study of rare and exotic plants as well as curious domestic specimens.

By 1794, he was well enough regarded by the American Philosophical Society that they deposited with him the shipment of plants sent by the English East India Company's botanist.³⁹⁹ Three years later, on July 27, 1797, Hamilton was elected a member of the Society.⁴⁰⁰ The manuscript minutes of the Society's members recorded two occasions, in 1802 and 1803, when Hamilton was entrusted with seeds for cultivation or was conferred with on matters relating to plants and seeds.⁴⁰¹

No doubt, William Hamilton made his reacquaintance with Thomas Jefferson through the Society since at the time of Hamilton's election, Jefferson was the American Philosophical Society's President. Caspar Wistar and Benjamin Rush, both of whom were well regarded men of medicine with botanical interest, were at that time serving as Vice Presidents of the Society. Correspondence between Jefferson and Hamilton began after Jefferson moved to Washington to assume the Presidency of the United States. In the year of Jefferson's election, he wrote to Hamilton apologizing for the neglect he had shown him, asked that Hamilton's "liberality" dispose him to send seed and then closed by saying:

The circumstances of our early acquaintance I have ever felt as binding me in morality as well as in affection, and there are so many agreeable points on which we are in perfect union that I am at no loss to find a justification of my constant esteem.⁴⁰²

Thomas Jefferson's high regards for William Hamilton became more apparent during his two terms in office.

Hamilton was aware of the Lewis and Clark expedition, mounted in the spring of 1804, to explore the Louisiana Purchase and Oregon country. Anticipating that new and different plant species would be encountered, he spoke to James Madison, then Secretary of State, about obtaining any seeds that might be sent back from the expedition. Madison, in turn, mentioned to Jefferson the request Hamilton had made. As Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were approaching the

Pacific Coast, Jefferson wrote to Hamilton:

Mr. Madison mentioned to me you wish to receive any seeds which should be sent me by Capt. Lewis or from any other quarter of plants which are rare. . . I happen to have two papers of seeds which Capt. Lewis inclosed to me in a letter, and which I gladly consign over to you. As I shall anything else which may fall into my hands and be worthy of your acceptance.⁴⁰³

With this, Jefferson appeared to set the stage for Hamilton to become the recipient of many of the curious plant materials returned from the West. To seal any doubt Jefferson wrote to Hamilton:

I forwarded to Mr. [Charles Willson] Peale for the Philosophical Society a box containing minerals & seeds from Capt. Lewis which I did not open and I am persuaded the Society will be pleased to dispose of them so well as into your hands. Mr. Peale would readily ask this.⁴⁰⁴

On November 15, 1805, the Society's manuscript minutes recorded that a resolution was passed "requesting Mr. Hamilton to plant the seeds and report the results with descriptions and specimens."⁴⁰⁵

Lewis and Clark made their return trip to St. Louis in September of 1806. By January 1807, Lewis had arrived in Washington with a second collection of plant seeds. Jefferson wrote to Bernard McMahon that:

Capt. Lewis has brought a considerable number of seeds of plants peculiar to the countries he has visited. I have recommended to him to confide principal shares of them to Mr. Hamilton of The Woodlands & yourself, as the persons most likely to take care of them, which he will accordingly do.⁴⁰⁶

Lewis's journey to Philadelphia was delayed so Jefferson

arranged two packets to be sent by post to both McMahon and Hamilton accompanied by personal letters. To Hamilton he wrote:

It is with great pleasure that at the request of Governor Lewis, I send you the seeds now inclosed, being part of the Botanical fruits of his journey across the continent.⁴⁰⁷

To McMahon he said:

I send a similar packet to Mr. Hamilton of The Woodlands, in making him & yourself the depositories of these public treasures, I am sure we take the best measures possible to ensure them from being lost.⁴⁰⁸

Only one report could ever be found from Hamilton relating to the expedition's seeds which were in his care. He wrote to Jefferson on February 5, 1808:

Mr. Lewis's seeds have not yet vegetated freely, more however may come up with this coming spring. I have nevertheless obtained plants of the yellow wood, or Osage apple, seven or eight of gooseberries & one of his kinds of aricara tobacco, have flowers so well as to afford me an elegant drawing of it.⁴⁰⁹

Seven years later, after Hamilton's death, Dr. Henry Muhlenberg wrote to Zaccheus Collins giving some indication that Hamilton's records may not have been recognized among personal articles the Hamilton family had put up for sale. Muhlenberg wrote that:

Mr. Hamilton had his own remarks in a 4 [QVQ.??] blank book with the names of the Lewis's seeds received from the Society. He was very exact in putting his memoranda down, with a Number of remarks. Probably it might be found amongst some number not valued.⁴¹⁰

Hamilton's waning health, perhaps, prevented him from

making formal reports. Nonetheless, during Hamilton's remaining years, Thomas Jefferson remained steadfast in his esteem for him and continued in his belief that The Woodlands was worthy of botanical study. Jefferson wrote to Dr. Caspar Wistar in 1807 about his grandson's education naming "the garden at the Woodlands for [the study of] botany."⁴¹¹ A year later, in 1808, Jefferson wrote to Charles Willson Peale:

It was the wish of Mr. Randolph and myself the last summer to send his son T. Jefferson Randolph to Philadelphia to attend lectures in those branches of science which cannot be so advantageously taught any where else in America: These are Natural history with the advantage of your museum, Botany aided by Mr. Hamilton's garden.⁴¹²

In the spring of 1809, Jefferson's letter to Hamilton said:

I have pressed upon him [Jefferson Randolph] also to study well the style of your pleasure grounds, as the chastest model of gardening which I have ever seen out of England.⁴¹³

The Woodland's garden was made available, by Hamilton, to classes from the University of Pennsylvania for botanical studies.⁴¹⁴ It was said that "Professor Benjamin Smith Barton, of the University, by the courteous permission of the owner, would, after winter lectures were ended, take his class there [to listen] to his lectures on botany, illustrated by the exotics and other plants in the well-filled green-houses."⁴¹⁵ Thomas Jefferson verified that William Hamilton had, in fact, offered his established pleasure ground as the first Botanic Garden to his alma mater, to use for instruction. Jefferson wrote to Hamilton on May 7, 1809:

I have a grandson, Thos. J. Randolph, now at Philadelphia, attending the Botanical lectures of Doctr. Barton and who will continue there only until the end of the present courses. Altho' I know that your goodness has indulged Dr. Barton with permission to avail himself of your collection of plants for the purpose of instruction his pupils, yet as my grandson has a peculiar fondness for that branch of knowledge of nature & would wish, in vacant hours to pursue it alone, I am led to ask for him a permission of occasional entrance into your gardens, undersuch restrictions as you may think proper. I have so much experience of his entire discretion as to be able with confidence to assure you that nothing will receive injury from his hands.⁴¹⁶

No doubt, it seemed fitting to Hamilton to favor the institution, which forty-seven years prior had kindled his interest in botany, with the means to ignite inquisitiveness in new generations of students.

Although Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton's first use of Hamilton's garden for instruction has not been established, it could have occurred in 1802 or as early as 1800. There is every indication that Barton and Hamilton were on very friendly terms by at least December 1802. At that time, Hamilton forwarded one of Barton's volumes back to him and requested the return "if convenient the books I some time ago lent you, as I have now an occasion for them."⁴¹⁷

Hamilton and Barton, no doubt, were acquainted from the time of Barton's return to America since they were both members of the American Philosophical Society by 1789.⁴¹⁸ It is highly probable that Hamilton also introduced Barton to Frederick Pursh since Pursh served as Hamilton's gardener from

1802 until 1805.⁴¹⁹ Pursh left Hamilton's employment early in 1805 and, sponsored by Barton, began a series of botanical excursions.⁴²⁰ By 1807, Pursh had fulfilled his commitment to Barton and began "describing and sketching the plants" of the Lewis and Clark expedition while residing with Bernard McMahon.⁴²¹ In 1809, Pursh "found employment with the Elgin Botanic Gardens of Dr. David Hosack" but within a short time left for London, there to write Flora Americae Septentrionalis.⁴²² When Pursh published this two-volume work in 1814, he gave Hamilton's collection at The Woodlands due praise by stating that:

I found this collection particularly valuable for furnishing me with a general knowledge of the plants of that country, preparatory to more extensive travels into the interior, for the discovery of new and unknown subjects.⁴²³

Pursh mentions in the preface to his publication that he had assumed management of The Woodlands' gardens after Mr. John Lyon gave them up.⁴²⁴ Contrary to what Pursh said, it appeared that John Lyon did not leave Hamilton's employment until 1803, when another gardener, John McArann, was assisting.⁴²⁵ John McArann stayed on under Frederick Pursh. In 1805, with Pursh's departure, McArann took charge of the gardens and continued on at The Woodlands through 1809.⁴²⁶ Upon leaving The Woodlands, McArann took charge of the gardens at another impressive Schuylkill River plantation which had been Robert Morris's The Hills, but in 1810 was the country

residence of Henry Pratt and renamed Lemon Hill.⁴²⁷ (Figure 27 and 28)

While all seemed so idyllic at The Woodlands, in the summer of 1794, with botanical and horticultural matters proceeding so well, the City of Philadelphia, some three miles to the east was experiencing a return of yellow fever that had claimed so many lives the summer before.⁴²⁸ Although William Hamilton felt that his Schuylkill River plantation afforded complete protection, he was in a state of panic that his nephews would not be warned of the danger.⁴²⁹ Andrew and James were returning to Philadelphia after receiving ten years of education in England and would be landed at the city wharf unless precautions were taken. Hamilton wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith that he:

conceive[d] it [would] be necessary to adopt some mode of getting the boys in case of their arrival at Chester & come forward by land to The Woodlands.⁴³⁰

The Hamilton family, fortunately, escaped the fever until the summer of 1798 when the plague returned to Philadelphia.⁴³¹ The youngest of his nephews, Franks Hamilton, died that summer. Hamilton's dearest niece, Anne, by then married to James Lyle, passed away in August of the same year.⁴³²

By the fall of 1803, William Hamilton appeared to have rallied from the losses in his family. Accounts of Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler and Timothy Pickering's visit to The Woodlands

on October 11, 1803, suggested Hamilton was in high spirits. Cutler and Pickering had "avoided going into Philadelphia on account of the fever [and finding] Grey's Inn over the Schuylkill" full, were invited by Hamilton to stay the night at The Woodlands.⁴³³ Both guests were entertained lavishly and given a tour of the grounds and greenhouses. Upon returning to the dwelling they were faced with a "table [that] was loaded with large botanical books, containing most excellent drawings of plants, such as [Cutler] could have never conceived."⁴³⁴ Cutler continued in his description of the visit:

He has an aged mother about 88--of whom he spoke with great affection. He has with him a nephew [James] about 24 and two young ladies, his nieces [Margaret and Mary], they took a large share with us in looking over the drawings, very social, and as engaged as their Uncle.⁴³⁵

It was of interest to note the participation of James, Margaret and Mary because they were, after their Uncle's death, the individuals' who attempted to maintain The Woodlands grounds as Hamilton had painstakingly assembled it.

Two days after Cutler's visit, William Hamilton's aged mother died sending him into a state of near depression. On February 1, 1804, he was still grieving as he wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith:

Such a distressed period as the last three months have been to me, I never experienced in my life. The change in my situation by the heavy blow I sustained in the loss of an affect parent, was of itself a sufficient affliction, without the addition of unkindness in those to whom I have acted as a

father, & mortification of suffering from pecuniary circumstances. Except on formal family days, I scarce have seen a soul to speak for a week together, & since I returned from Baltimore in the beginning of November, not one soul but myself & my domestics has lain a night in this house.⁴³⁶

There was no elaboration on the comment suggesting an estrangement between himself and his nieces and nephews. Hamilton had been wounded severely by Anne who "had the strongest claim to [his] protection as her guardian & parent."⁴³⁷ In 1792 Hamilton said "she [had] broken the ties of Duty & Affection which for more than 20 years I may truly say have been maintained with a degree of Devotion on my part."⁴³⁸ Anne's transgression had been to marry James Lyle without consulting her uncle. It is hard to imagine that William Hamilton carried such an injury to his soul six years beyond Anne's death. At the time of her marriage, however, Hamilton had commented that after the event, he would "then arrange [his] future plans which heretofore [had] rested solely on the conduct of [his] Niece Anne in fixing Life."⁴³⁹ (Figure 29 and 30)

The only other family event, which was chronicled in personal letters, related to his nephew Andrew who had decided to leave for England in July 1803.⁴⁴⁰ A little over a year later, in August 1804, Hamilton wrote to Smith:

It may be a matter of surprise to you to be informed of my nephew Andrew Hamilton's marriage in England to an heiress of 5 or 6,000 Pr. year--as the consequence will be that I shall never see him again, I am at a loss to know whether to be pleased or displeased. The world would laugh at me were I

to say I was not pleased with such a match in point of fortune. But there are many circumstances to make me think he might have been as happily situated here--& he certainly was more entitled to my regard than any of the family."⁴⁴¹

This one statement, examined in combination with other comments made by William Hamilton since February 1785, was further indication of his long-standing commitment to provide for his and his family's health and comfort at The Woodlands throughout their lives. The last major effort Hamilton made to assure his family's income was connected with the certainty of a permanent bridge being erected across the Schuylkill River at Middle Ferry [Market Street]. Hamilton's property abutted the western anchorage for the proposed bridge and ran in a westerly direction along Market Street to a point near where 41st Street intersects it today. Seeking to capitalize on the bridge's completion, he joined into agreement with the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge Company on June 21, 1800, to record "as a public & permanent road" the thoroughfare which passed through The Woodlands which was "laid out by me 22 years ago."⁴⁴²

In this agreement, Hamilton stipulated that the Bridge Company was to make alterations "in the present road at the North Eastern End from their Bridge now building over Beaver Run [east of 34th Street] as that in passing thence to Market Street."⁴⁴³ His reason for making this stipulation was "to accommodate a plan I have in contemplation for laying out some

Lots near my [brick] house occupied by Mr. Waddington."⁴⁴

The re-positioning of the road was craftily calculated to make the lots in his village highly desirable. The original forty acres, forming Hamiltonville, were located at an advantageous juncture of three major roadways into Philadelphia; the Lancaster Turnpike Road, Market Street, and Hamilton's road which connected to "Derby" [sic] or Chester Road. A major portion of the goods and a fair number of travelers, headed into Philadelphia from points west and southwest, would pass through this intersection.⁴⁵ (Figure 31 and 32)

Hamilton wrote to Benjamin Hayes Smith two years later, in June 1803, stating quite plainly how he saw his project proceeding and what he was doing to further its success:

When I formed my village plan, I supposed that the immediate improvement of a number of the Lots altho I got little for them would get the thing agoing. In order to make such a beginning, I determined to take in lieu of cash, anything that I could make useful. The finishing of my house was not only agreeable but a necessary measure. On that principle I sold to Traquair 3 lots, to [Gavin] Hamilton as many. I sold others for bricklayers work, for blacksmiths work, for books & one even for china for the use of my family.⁴⁶

A bit later in the letter, he told Smith exactly what he hoped would be accomplished.

From these circumstances you will perceive I am not yet much better in money for the sales--at the same time there can be no doubt that the improvement of the lots already conveyed in case they are built on next year, will lay foundation for my deriving great advantages when the bridge is finished. I am happy in the belief that the plan will answer & ultimately prove the means of not only extricating me from every difficulty, but of yielding me a

handsome income for the rest of my life."⁴⁴⁷

In the first months of 1804, Hamilton was "in treaty with number of merchants [who sought to] lay a foundation for a great speculation."⁴⁴⁸ Hamilton "had just reason to rely on the sale of 16 lots" for the purpose this company of men had proposed. Hamilton explained to Smith that they wanted to:

erect many stores, for supplying the western country people with goods & receiving their produce, without them being obliged to go to town during yellow fever time."⁴⁴⁹

The idea that the village on the west bank of the Schuylkill River would be viewed as sanctuary from this re-occurring plague was borne out when the City banking houses "talked of erecting a building to serve in times of yellow fever."⁴⁵⁰ William Hamilton told Smith some months later that:

If (as is by many supposed) the several banks should fix a summer residence on this side of the Schuylkill, to forward which plan I have offered a gift of ground in the best situation."⁴⁵¹

Prior to this Hamilton himself had acknowledged that this portion of his Woodland plantation, formed into a village, would be sought as a place of escape from the epidemic. He explained to Smith, in a letter, that the sale of his lots might not be so immediate "unless the people should be driven from Philada. disease & that produce a greater demand for retiring places."⁴⁵² Hamilton pushed this idea in an 1802 advertisement which recommended his village "situation in point of health, beauty and convenience."⁴⁵³

William Hamilton's expectations for his village were not matched by immediate sales of lots. Not until fifteen years after his death did any of his heirs have renewed prospects for a profitable venture. Eliza Hamilton, widow of Andrew, wrote to Thomas Cadwalader from England in 1828:

I hear Philadelphia is increasing and filling so rapidly both with houses and people that I have hopes our property will greatly increase in value.⁴⁵⁴

By the year this letter was written William Hamilton's Schuylkill River plantation had been fragmented and the heirs had filed suit for portions of the entire Hamilton estate.

From the time Hamilton had decided to plan his village in 1802 until sometime in 1810 he probably held out hope of seeing at least one of his real estate ventures succeed. When disappointment after disappointment began to weigh heavy on him he seemed to seek solace in his rare plant and exotics collection. Perhaps even that could not lift his spirits as, year after year, attacks of the gout incapacitated him for longer periods until, in 1811, he could no longer walk at all.

A visitor remarked that:

[He] found the old gentleman in a sad state of helplessness from gout. He was wheeled about the grounds in a large garden chair, & was seated at his table propped by cushions, and fed by his servant.⁴⁵⁵

William Hamilton sensed, perhaps, that his life was drawing to a close and had his will drawn up in September 1811.

The opening statement to his Will stated Hamilton's situation with clarity:

Be it remembered, that I William Hamilton of The Woodlands in Blockley Township and the County of Philadelphia, being weak in body, but sound of mind and memory, do make and publish this my last will and testament.⁴⁵⁶

By provision, "The Woodlands also all the real estate or estates to me belonging" went to his nephew James Hamilton. William Hamilton lived to see the outbreak of America's second war with England on June 18, 1812. It may have meant very little to him as his health declined rapidly. To others of his acquaintance, the War of 1812 meant deprivation. Henry Muhlenberg wrote to Zaccheus Collins on February 1, 1813:

Should we get Peace I would be enabled to get any botanical book printed in Germany, as I have correspondents enough in every part of Germany, and have imported many books from different places for my friends. Mr. Hamilton was one of them. Do you hear whether he has recovered or are all hopes gone?⁴⁵⁷

On Saturday, June 5, 1813, William Bartram received a handwritten note:

Mr. W. Bartram is particularly invited to attend the funeral of Mr. William Hamilton from his late residence The Woodlands at 11 o'clock a.m. on Monday next.⁴⁵⁸

The American Daily Advertiser ran an obituary on Tuesday June 8, 1813. It read as follows:

Died at The Woodlands on Saturday the fifth day of June in the sixty-eighth year of his age, William Hamilton Esquire.

His noble mansion was for many years the resort of a very numerous circle of friends and acquaintances attracted by the affability of his manners and a frankness of hospitality peculiar to himself, which made even strangers feel at once welcome, easy and happy in his company.

Mr. Hamilton was distinguished for good taste and judgement in the Fine Arts as well as for a very general knowledge of botany.--The study of botany was the principal amusement of his life.--He was engaged in extensive correspondence with persons of celebrity in the same pursuit, in distant countries, as well as in the United States, and in an interchange with them of whatever was rare, or useful in that part of natural history.

His remains attended by a large assemblage of friends and other citizens, were yesterday interred in the family burying place at Bush Hill.⁴⁵⁹

After their uncle's death, James Hamilton (II), a bachelor, and his unmarried sister Margaret [Molly] became the principal directors of activities on The Woodlands plantation. Since James had assumed agency of the Lancaster estate in 1811 he was often away from The Woodlands leaving its operation in the hands of his sister. Andrew (IV) returned from England to America upon his uncle's death but left his wife and child in England. The household at The Woodlands was once again a numerous one; James, Margaret, Mary, Andrew, James Lyle and his two daughters by Anne, Mary and Ellen, all lived there in the summer of 1813.⁴⁶⁰

At the time the remaining family members resided at The Woodlands, the War of 1812 was still raging to the south of Philadelphia. "When news came late in August 1814 that Washington [D. C.] had fallen and the British were marching

on Baltimore," fortifications were hastily constructed on the west bank of the Schuylkill to meet the potential threat to Philadelphia.⁴⁶¹ One of the largest, a redoubt, was built "opposite Hamilton's Grove."⁴⁶² (Figure 33) From the diary of a man who worked on it came the description that the defensive earthwork structure was near "Mr. Hamilton's lodges."⁴⁶³ This would have positioned it on the highest elevation along Woodland Avenue later the site of the Alms House Reservoir. Such dramatic changes to the landforms on The Woodlands plantation were not to occur again until 13 years later, after the property's transfer passing from the Hamiltons to new ownership.

With the war's end on December 14, 1815, came a return to normalcy at The Woodlands. The Hamilton family had in their employ a gardener, but it is doubtful he had the qualifications of his predecessors. Evidence for this was that Andrew Hamilton asked Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton for assistance in identifying a plant.⁴⁶⁴ Barton must have continued to rely on The Woodlands as an adjunct to his teaching and botanizing since Andrew advised Barton that his "plants[had] been transplanted & [were] in good health."⁴⁶⁵ Dr. Barton replied quickly to the request for assistance and must have made an offer to be of further service. Two days after Andrew's first letter he sent Barton a second in which he said:

I feel extremely grateful for your kind offer, but

I am not at present aware of anything that may be procured for us should any occur I shall with gratitude avail myself of said offer.⁴⁶⁶

The grounds and buildings both were still being kept at their peak at this time. A visitor wrote:

Everything within doors is elegant. . . we went into the gardens, which were in fine order, and through the hot-house, which contains the greatest collection of plants in the United States. When we had at Cambridge [Mass.] one flowering cereus, they had about the same time twenty. Last winter Miss H. [Margaret] supplied the sick with five or six hundred lemons from her own trees.⁴⁶⁷

James Hamilton was, it seemed, just as ambitious in his efforts to keep The Woodlands pleasure grounds in proper order as his uncle had been. An article appearing in Poulson's American Daily Advertiser on June 1, 1815, read:

James Hamilton, Esq. at his seat, The Woodlands, is completing a plan, begun by his late uncle, for conducting the water of a spring or springs, from a considerable distance, into his garden. A number of pipes (wooden) had been laid and covered some years--there were two ranges of pipes; each from a spring distant from the other, finally uniting in one conductor, the diameter of the tubes two inches, the wood white cedar: generally laid several feet underground--each log from eight to ten feet long, and joined in the usual manner.--The length of one arm one hundred yards; that of the other, one hundred and thirty.⁴⁶⁸

Beyond 1815, there were no letters preserved that gave descriptions of land use, building or gardening work at The Woodlands. A very few account book entries for 1817 indicated that, in the winter months of January and February, manure was being purchased, probably for use in the garden at spring time. Other entries were for ditching, \$20; men at Ice House,

\$2; men making ice, \$12; digging well, \$12; Jas. McRoy in Stable, \$15; Jno. Davis, gardener, \$123; and Jno. Walsh for glazing, \$5. February entries showed tulips being purchased for \$23 and garden seed for \$19. April indicated increased outdoor gardening work with the purchase of grapevines \$2; plough lines & dung \$15; roots \$6; clover seed \$11; and garden potts \$15. Entries through July include expenditures for post & rails, lime, turnip seed, cow & calf, shell lime, and more grape vines.⁴⁶⁹

In July 1817, James Hamilton met an untimely death near Poughkeepsie, New York and Dr. David Hosack, a friend of the family, was paid \$500 for attending him prior to his death. Entries continued to be recorded by James Lyle from August 1817 through 1821 when an estate settlement was made. Those expenses listed, suggested a greater dependency on commercial seed houses with the name of McMahon and D & C Landreth appearing several times.⁴⁷⁰

In May of 1819, Andrew Hamilton, "about to sail for England" agreed to allow his sisters Margaret and Mary to purchase his interest and "become the owners of The Woodlands, and ninety-two acres of ground, part of the farm surrounding the same."⁴⁷¹ The records were silent on the period from 1821 until 1826 when Henry Beckett, married to a great niece of William Hamilton, takes over the accounts. From all indications, there was a concentrated effort to repair all of

the buildings associated with the mansion. The greenhouse, the stable, and the mansion pavilions all received attention.⁴⁷² Three tons of coal were ordered for the greenhouse. By January of 1827, the account book made it absolutely obvious why the efforts were effected. They were made to have everything in readiness for the sale of the mansion, its dependencies and the ninety-two acres surrounding it. On January the 5th of that year payments were made for "advertising this estate for sale [in both the] Nat. Gazette [and] Poulson's Paper."⁴⁷³

By April of 1827, a downpayment on a section of the farm adjoining the mansion annex property was received.⁴⁷⁴ On November 28, 1827, all of the livestock consisting of cows, pigs and hogs were sold. At the same auction all The Woodlands farm implements, straw, corn, clover, hay, rye, oats, potatoes and manure were bought. By January 23, 1829, the Commissioners of the Poor finalized their purchase of 187 acres, 1 rod, and 20 perches of The Woodlands riverfront tract known by the previous lessees designation as the Tomlinson tract.⁴⁷⁵ On this tract along the western bank of the Schuylkill, they proceeded to develop the Alms House with its infirmary and the Alms House Farm.

The very core of William Hamilton's beloved Woodlands, consisting of 92 acres on which the mansion, dependencies, and garden were situated, was sold to Thomas Flemming on the

4th of January, 1828, for \$30,000.⁴⁷⁶ At that point The Woodlands passed from the Hamilton family. The collection of exotics was dispersed and the landscaped grounds began to lose their manicured appearance. Eliza Hamilton wrote to Thomas Cadwalader, after receiving notice in England:

So the poor Woodlands is gone at last and I am afraid almost given away--it was however I suppose considered advisable under existing circumstances to part with it even at a sacrificing price.⁴⁷⁷ (Appendix II)

III. PRIVATE PLEASURE GROUNDS TO PUBLIC SANCTUARIES

By 1840, twelve years after The Woodlands plantation had been disassembled, the separate parcels that had once comprised a unified whole continued to draw upon the aura of the Schuylkill River estate's association with healthful refuge and pleasurable family resort. William Hamilton's village for "retiring places," laid out on the uplands to the north of the property annexed to the mansion, started to attract the new upper class who bought multiple lots on which were "built mansions as country retreats and summer homes."¹ A traveler in 1840 was quoted as saying:

The buildings, about eighty in number, generally stand apart from each other, leaving garden spaces between them. Taken together, Hamilton is probably the prettiest village in the neighborhood of Philadelphia.²

Hamiltonville, along with the district of which it was a part, was actively promoted by the district commissioners in 1852.

As a place of residence, it may be safely said that no other location in the vicinity of Philadelphia offers superior attractions. The ground in general is elevated and remarkably healthy.³

William Hamilton, at the turn of the century, had not only anticipated the growth of West Philadelphia and his village but also the very virtues of his village's "situation in point of health, beauty and convenience."⁴

It was not, of course, only the families of the wealthy

who resided on what had been Hamilton estate land. Since it was a gateway to the city from the west, merchants, artisans, workers, tradesmen, and tavern keepers congregated along Market Street as it approached the Permanent Bridge.⁵ (Figure 34 and 35) In some ways this juxtaposition of the wealthy and the working class differed very little from Hamilton's time when tenant farmers, carters, blacksmiths, and domestics lived on or near the plantation. All classes of people, therefore, derived some degree of benefit from the village's healthful situation removed from the congested city and yet were near enough to take convenient advantage of it in the first half of the 19th century.

This urban periphery, where town and country commingled, was the prototypical suburbia, the characteristics of which were "derived from the English concept of the picturesque."⁶ The very concepts Hamilton had applied to his plantation continued in use, albeit on a smaller scale, in the form of "a distinctive, low density environment defined by the primacy of the single family house set in the greenery of an open park-like setting."⁷ What appealed to the individual family was the promise that their private property would prove to be a refuge from the "threatening elements in the city" and restore them to "harmony with Nature."⁸

To borrow John Stilgoe's terminology, "the borderland," which The Woodland plantation parcels became, drew the

attention of the new social and charitable institutions for similar reasons that families had sought them. By the second quarter of the 19th century, Philadelphia, like other eastern urban centers, began to rapidly expand and become more dense with the transition to an industrial metropolis; this phenomenon was compounded by the flood of immigrants.⁹ These years of unparalleled growth and change from a "pre-industrial town economy to [an] industrial, big-city, regional economy" were accompanied by strikes, race riots, cholera and typhoid epidemics, financial panic, and depressions.¹⁰ Some individuals, it is true, found opportunities to amass fortunes; others met with personal defeat and many more survived on the edge of poverty. Reformers directly attributed poverty to urban growth's disorienting and undermining aspects. It was felt that by removing the indigent from the urban center to an isolated fringe area, they could be rehabilitated and comforted.¹¹

The Commissioners of the Guardians of the Poor faced with inquiries about the ability to properly house and care for their charges at the 10th and Pine Streets facility began their search for a more pastoral setting.¹² A portion of The Woodlands plantation, extending northeast from the Mansion grounds and consisting of 187 acres, 1 rod, 20 perches came to the auction block in November of 1828.¹³ By January 23, 1829, the full purchase price of \$51,528.12 was paid to the

Hamilton Estate Legatees by Nathan Bunker on behalf of the Commissioners of the Poor for the parcel.¹⁴ William Strickland was commissioned to design the Blockley Almshouse on the west bank of the Schuylkill River while, directly opposite on the east bank another of his designs, the United States Naval Asylum, was rising from the ground.¹⁵ (Figures 36 and 37)

The Blockley Almshouse, positioned on high ground overlooking the Schuylkill, was originally comprised of a group of four three-story buildings arranged around a large interior courtyard. Each building had a specific purpose; one housed the "Male Department," another the "Female Department." Of the remaining two buildings, one was the "Hospital" or "Infirmary" and the other the "Insane Department."¹⁶ The "Children's Asylum" was to be a totally separate structure, on the property, set aside "for [their] health, convenience & instruction."¹⁷ When the Almshouse with the "House of Employment or Bettering House" moved to its new Schuylkill River site in 1832, it became one of many institutions memorialized by artists as "symbols of the accomplishment and benevolent intentions of their founders."¹⁸

As with the Naval Asylum on the bluff across the river, the Blockley Asylum was of monumental scale and had a porticoed front.¹⁹ (Figure 38 and 39) As buildings

displaying neo-classic features, they harkened back to the social achievements of the Roman and Greek Republics which America was still anxious to emulate. The associational psychology, then current in America, was conducive to "relating moral, ethical and aesthetic principles found in Classical Antiquity to contemporary life" as well as to architectural form.²⁰ (Figure 40) By setting this architectural form in the tranquility of the countryside, the most conducive environment had been provided for the individual's relief and salvation.

It was not just the design of the institutions but their combination with the potency of Nature found in the surrounding grounds that were thought to promote recovery.²¹ While institutionalized the indigent were on retreat; they were removed from the anxiety of an increasingly competitive society and exposed to the moral influence of nature. By apprehending the green verdure of creation, while walking and working in the Asylum gardens or on the farm, their minds could find peace and repose unavailable in the midst of the teeming city. Outdoor labor and exercise in combination with employment in the Asylum's Work Shop was thought to assist in the re-education and reformation of the poor in a controlled, nonthreatening environment akin to the ideal of a family home.²²

That these "beneficent institutions [were] among the

highest indications of an advancing civilization", cannot be doubted.²³ That they were a testament to Philadelphia's, and the still young Republic's, concept of enlightened progress in the 19th century, is without dispute. Yet there was to be another institution, the rural cemetery, that attracted even more attention than the, above cited, "beneficent institutions" as Philadelphia approached the fourth decade of the 19th century. One of those rural cemeteries was established on the Hamilton Schuylkill River estate, its Corporators lured there for similar reasons as had the Commissioners of the Poor. It was no ordinary river parcel that The Woodlands Cemetery Company chose. In its members' minds, no single parcel of landscape could excel, for their purposes, that of William Hamilton's pleasure grounds. What had been the very core of the plantation, the family retreat, became a sacred resort for a new generation of families.

The transformation of Hamilton's picturesque "parke" and garden occurred almost effortlessly due to the fact that the same aesthetic philosophy that was applied to this 18th century pleasure ground, also underpinned the rural cemetery movement. Richard Etlin gave a succinct explanation of the affinity when he wrote:

From its origins, the English landscape garden not only introduced a new "informal" and "natural" mode of gardening, but also presented a new vision of death and commemoration. The memorial or tomb was as much a part of the picturesque garden as was the meandering path.²⁴

Certainly no other private garden in the environs of Philadelphia had the distinction of being renowned as the premier example of English landscape gardening.²⁵ Therefore, The Woodlands Cemetery Corporators reasoned that Hamilton's "parke" had a remarkable potential for becoming the finest of the rural cemeteries.

The Woodlands' pleasure ground may well have been singular for the relative ease with which it was so comfortably adapted to the purposes of a rural cemetery, however, the impetus for the formation of the institution was no different than for the multitude of others that began to locate on the outskirts of expanding urban centers. As intense manufacturing and expanding commercial enterprises with their need for laborers, began to replace domestic industry and an agrarian economy, the city's population swelled. One Philadelphian wrote in 1835, "that the living population has multiplied beyond the means of accommodation for the dead."²⁶ Church yards, the traditional urban places of family burial, became overcrowded to the point that exhumations took place either to accommodate the more recent dead or to free the land for desirable economic growth.²⁷

As frightful as this scene was to any who witnessed it, desecrations did not cause quite the agitation and alarm as the "threat to public health posed by the noxious gases escaping from graves."²⁸ As a result of prominent

physicians' reports, it was widely believed that these gases were not only injurious to health but also contributed to the devastating epidemics that were ravaging American urban centers in the first decades of the 19th century. Almost fifty years before, physicians in England and France had concluded that health was severely impaired by exposure to the poisonous gases emanating from church graveyards and other tainted institutions. As a result, the practice of burial in European cities had largely been curtailed or banished by the early decades of the 19th century.²⁹

Paris supplied the answer to safe interment of the city's dead by establishing four municipal cemeteries on its outskirts during the first two decades of the 19th century. Of the four, the Cemetery of the East, or as it became popularly known the Cemetery of Pere Lachaise, was the most famous.³⁰ In the 17th century it had not been Pere Lachaise but Mont-Louis, the private hilltop retreat of Louis XIV's confessor, the Jesuit priest Francois d'Aix de la Chaise.³¹

Although originally designed for the priest in the formal mode little remained of the extensive garden in 1804, so that, the architect Alexandre-Theodore Brongnairt chose to transform the property following the English landscape-garden tradition.³² "By the early 1820's, Pere Lachaise had become a magnificent funerary garden."³³ Parisians thought of the new cemetery as a popular resort where on Sundays they used

its winding pathways as a promenade enjoying "its beauty as well as its fine prospects of the city and the countryside."³⁴ Foreign visitors, too, were drawn to this field of rest in the French countryside and found in it an auspicious conjunction between radical changes in burial practice and the popular picturesque gardening of the English.³⁵

"The place of death and of commemoration within the natural landscape setting", without doubt, had been an important aspect of the English landscape garden.³⁶ William Shenstone, in his garden at The Leasowes in Worcestershire, had placed a gilt urn nestled in a grove. (Figure 41) Its inscription suggested that "even in death a loved one's presence remained in the garden."³⁷ Alexander Pope had erected an obelisk, in memory of his mother, "set against a screen of "cypress in his garden at Twickenham."³⁸ As the 18th century wore on, scores of other country estates had mausolea, memorial columns, allegorical temples, "grottoes of the underworld", and other structures suggestive of man's passage through the world and his ultimate mortality, placed within their parks.³⁹ (Figure 42)

The English park's pilgrimage routes and commemorative architectural elements, placed within the landscape garden, although certainly whispering of the dawn of the rural cemetery movement, had to wait for French garden theorists

to proclaim these elements' applicability to the purpose of the sepulchre. In the late 18th century, theorists such as Abbe Jacques Delille "were proposing commemorative gardens and even cemeteries after the model of the picturesque landscape garden."⁴⁰ At the same time Pierre Fontaine, Etienne-Louis Boullée, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, and a number of other French architects did much to promulgate the "unified vision of landscape and architecture" in cemetery design.⁴¹ Their's was a neoclassic vision of death that was partially derived from the Greco-Roman tradition of burying the dead outside their towns in the fertile countryside.⁴² Thus the French interpretation of the architecture of death, with its distilled geometric purity, was to join the peaceful field of rest with the relationship first vividly expressed in Brongnairt's plans for Pere Lachaise.⁴³

This most famous of all Parisian cemeteries, by 1825, "was being quoted by cemeterians on both sides of the Atlantic as a model for future developments."⁴⁴ Those who lauded Pere Lachaise saw, in its form, a way to respond to the pressures of urban growth and to the new considerations of public hygiene. They also detected that the carefully tended grave with affectionately composed tomb inscriptions furthered the worthy sentimental ties within the family which were developing in this period.⁴⁵ Beyond this was the instructive feature of the monuments to illustrious persons

set in a peaceful Arcadian scene.⁴⁶

The idea of cemeteries as instructive, morally improving, educational, soothing, and dignified places, where memorials to the dead stood among pastoral landscapes was not met, at first, with enthusiastic acceptance in America. There was still strong attachment to churchyard interment which the clergy did little to discourage during the first decades of the 19th century.⁴⁷ Medical opinion, respecting the danger of "urban graves as causing or contributing to devastating disease" coupled with outbreaks of yellow fever and the fearsome worldwide epidemic of asiatic cholera in 1831-1832, quickly changed attitudes in England and America.⁴⁸

Close upon the heels of the cholera pandemic, several cemeteries were founded that took their inspiration from Pere Lachaise. Kensal Green (1832), outside London, the Glasgow Necropolis (1832) outside its namesake, and Mount Auburn (1831) on the periphery of Boston were contemporary private establishments dedicated to the place of death and of commemoration within a natural landscape setting.⁴⁹ Mount Auburn, unlike its counterparts in England, and in contrast with Pere Lachaise, was a cemetery that "began as untrammelled wilderness."⁵⁰ It also held the distinction of being tied to a horticultural society which held title to the land and therefore was responsible for giving "it a sound start in

favourable growing conditions."⁵¹

By 1835, traveler's accounts noted that Mount Auburn was "celebrated as the most interesting object of the kind in our country."⁵² Mount Auburn attracted foreign visitors as well as the curious from cities and regions within America. Foreign visitors especially, noted that, in contrast to Pere Lachaise, Mount Auburn "epitomized hope [and] generat[ed] a perfect belief in a life beyond the grave."⁵³ Civic leaders, from other metropolitan areas in America, returned from visits to Mount Auburn determined to have "their own garden cemeteries to serve both as showplaces of urbane taste and local accomplishments and as retreats for salutary recreation of their fellow citizens."⁵⁴

In 1836, Laurel Hill, the second of America's rural cemeteries, opened outside of the early 19th century city limits of Philadelphia in Penn Township.⁵⁵ This cemetery, the first of its kind for Philadelphia, intentionally was situated on a thirty-two acre site "high atop the eastern bank of the Schuylkill River."⁵⁶ Unlike Mount Auburn, Laurel Hill had been the 18th century country seat of Joseph Sims, Esq., a wealthy shipowner.⁵⁷ A survey of the estate, documented by William Strickland, "suggests that the Sims' landscape tended towards the gardenesque style, with individual or small clusters of specimen plantings scattered throughout the grounds."⁵⁸ At the time of its purchase,

John Jay Smith felt that the estate combined "every requisite for improvement by means of landscape gardening, being unrivaled for beauty and romantic scenery."⁵⁹

Laurel Hill and other rural cemeteries that were soon after established on Philadelphia's periphery, Monument Cemetery, 1837 and The Woodlands Cemetery, 1840, began to vie with Mount Auburn "for public recognition and popular acclaim."⁶⁰ With so much tourist attention and civic pride evidenced in these private institutions that "served many public functions", other cities were challenged to follow suit with their own rural cemeteries.⁶¹ A Baltimore clergyman, Stephen Duncan Walker, returning home after visiting Mount Auburn as part of his trip through New England, appealed to local pride to form a similar institution that would fulfill many civic functions. The search for a suitable site ended, in 1838, with the selection of Robert Oliver's estate which was within a half-hour walk of Baltimore's 19th century market center. Just as in Philadelphia, with the selection of Laurel Hill, a gentleman's country seat with "its groves and agreeable prospects" was found to be a highly suitable site for the transformation into a "rural cemetery and public walk."⁶²

In the same year of Green Mount's charter in Baltimore, New York City and Brooklyn acquired their charter for a rural cemetery to be located on Gowanus Heights.⁶³ Situated above

New York harbor "with a stunning panoramic view over Manhattan Island," it was already a place of historical repute having been the "site of a Revolutionary War battle."⁶⁴ The site of Green-Wood Cemetery, as it was named, more closely resembled Mount Auburn in that it was a "thickly wooded site whose sylvan ambiance was much appreciated."⁶⁵ This siting presents a contrast to the locating of rural cemeteries in existing private pleasure grounds. Local newspapers noted the considerable numbers of visitors and predicted that New York's Green-Wood was destined to "become a popular and elegant place of resort, where some of the wild and lovely features of nature might be retained near the city."⁶⁶

These four cemeteries, Mount Auburn, Green-Wood, Green Mount and Laurel Hill, all in burgeoning eastern seaboard cities, were models and inspirations for the creation of rural cemeteries throughout the United States. By 1849, Andrew Jackson Downing wrote in The Horticulturist that "there is scarcely a city of note in the whole country that has not its rural cemetery."⁶⁷ The wholehearted acceptance of this institution was in some part due to the place being an outward display of local sophistication and an attraction to local visitors as well as to those traveling great distances.⁶⁸ Perhaps of greater importance, to the philanthropic men who founded these institutions, was the

belief that they provided a place where "the visitor could leave behind some of the cares of urban life, revel in the natural beauty of the scenery, and learn the moral lessons of the landscape and its monuments."⁶⁹

American rural cemeteries had proliferated, by 1865, to the point where it could be said that the first of their kind "had solidified and created for America the belief that a desirable cemetery is one that is a peaceful sanctuary, pleasing to the eye and soothing to the spirit."⁷⁰ The American cemeteries' ability to preserve and adapt that rural romantic character, which was by then the only accepted norm in the United States, allowed them to gain ascendancy, by virtue of their natural beauty and expansiveness, over their French and English counterparts.⁷¹ This primacy was tied to the seemingly limitless rural acreage then available on the fringe of American urban centers and the varied landscape of undulating hills and dales cloaked in sylvan luxury, an asset which was not abundantly available outside 19th century European metropolitan areas.

The men who had sought charters for these private American institutions had virtually guaranteed their cemeteries' ability to eclipse the French progenitors by size alone. The fact that American civic leaders deliberately chose sites to establish the "extra-urban burial areas" on acreage in excess of what European cemeteries possessed,

assured that the rural character would not be soon diluted by a concentration of huddled tombs and monuments.⁷² That the founders of rural American cemeteries selected grounds not only for their bucolic ambiance but for their sufficient remoteness, beyond what they believed would be the range of city improvements, undeniably delayed encroachment upon the natural and picturesque landscape.

From the very first, the proprietors of American rural cemeteries wanted to emulate the idea of the garden of commemoration and contemplation made manifest at Pere Lachaise.⁷³ At the very same time there was something about the enthusiasm of these men's endeavors that suggested an intentional patriotic desire to compete for superiority over European models. It was not enough, however, to overshadow the French and English; each American city had to rival the other in search for the ideal picturesque cemetery site that would capture the public's attention and bolster civic pride.⁷⁴ Within thirty years of Mount Auburn's founding there were several rural cemeteries associated with each large metropolitan center that vied among themselves for acclaim and openly noted their natural advantages over the other.⁷⁵

The founders of the first rural cemeteries on the periphery of Philadelphia perhaps had just reason to believe that their grounds surpassed those associated with other

cities. Laurel Hill's adaptation from a Schuylkill country seat to a landscaped burial ground certainly was following Pere Lachaise's model. Laurel Hill, unlike Mount Auburn, was already a groomed pleasure ground and, unlike Pere Lachaise, it displayed the influence of English landscape gardening principles before its transformation. Like so many of the English inspired Schuylkill River estates, Laurel Hill owed its "unrivalled beauty and romantic scenery" as much to its garden as to the untouched native tree canopy and dense understory shrubs and vines clinging to the rocky slopes and framing views of the river below.⁷⁶

Had the owners been disposed to sell, any number of picturesque estate sites along the Schuylkill River could have been adapted to the use of rural cemeteries. The 18th and early 19th century summer retreats with their pleasure grounds were strung like pearls of a necklace on either bank of the Schuylkill. Any one of them could have provided a place for quiet repose of the dead "in association with the beautiful works of nature."⁷⁷ Perhaps it was fitting that the few, which were transformed for this purpose, met such high acclaim that it caused many of the other river estates, several decades later, to be preserved as integral parts of Fairmount Park, which was recognized as the largest landscaped urban public park in the United States.⁷⁸

In this brief history of the rural cemetery development

in America, the importance of William Hamilton's country seat, The Woodlands, lies in the fact that it was the premier manifestation of the evolvement of a private, picturesque pleasure ground into the sacred landscape retreat of the rural cemetery. The link between the 18th century English inspired landscape garden and the American rural cemetery was, perhaps, no where better evinced then here. Undoubtedly, the transfiguration of The Woodlands, in 1840, was the most sensitive adaptive use that could have occurred to Hamilton's "pleasure grounds [which Thomas Jefferson proclaimed, in 1809,] as the chastest model of gardening which I have ever seen out of England."⁷⁹ It was, in fact, The Woodlands which had been initially selected, by John Jay Smith, as the site for the first rural cemetery in Philadelphia County.⁸⁰ However, due to Smith's inability to purchase The Woodlands, he settled on Robert Sims' Schuylkill River estate, Laurel Hill, instead. Thus, although Sims' landscaped grounds became the first site dedicated as a borderland funerary institution associated with Philadelphia, it was The Woodlands, as the finest example of the English gardening style in America, which was recognized to be the most perfectly suitable for a rural picturesque cemetery, the forerunner of a type of sylvan and pastoral space which was to evolve into the idea of public park for "popular recreation and quiet retirement."⁸¹

IV. THE WOODLANDS CEMETERY: "A RETIRED AND QUIET RURAL ABODE"

This "matchless place," known as The Woodlands, was dedicated as a cemetery under the act authorizing a purchase for that purpose on April 13, 1840.¹ The date, however, did not mark the earliest moment when the 91-1/2 acre Hamilton family reserve was considered for transformation into a rural cemetery. In November 1835, a committee of five Philadelphians consisting of Benjamin W. Richards, a former mayor of the city, Frederick Brown, Nathan Dunn, William Strickland, and John Jay Smith made The Woodlands their first choice for the establishment of a rural cemetery.² The owner at the time, Thomas Mitchell, was "not disposed to sell" and the committee resumed their search.³ By March of 1836, the committee's second choice, the estate known as Laurel Hill, was purchased and dedicated to extra-urban burial.⁴

There were several thought provoking points associated with this chain of events. Foremost was the fact that it was The Woodlands' pleasure grounds which were purposely chosen for the first Philadelphia rural cemetery. Of further interest is that William Strickland, architect for the Blockley Almshouse, was on the cemetery's selection committee. Strickland had become familiar with The Woodlands by at least 1809 when he made a drawing of The Woodlands mansion and surveyed the terrain in the vicinity of The Woodlands' lodges in preparation for establishing fortifications against

possible British attacks in 1814.⁵ (See Figure 34). He could not have avoided noticing the unified assemblage of architectural and landscape elements displayed at The Woodlands during his involvement with any of these projects and would have certainly noted the estate's superb qualities. In addition, the committee's choice of The Woodlands as the consummately "suitable neat and orderly location for a rural cemetery," strengthened the association that the English landscaped garden naturally "acknowledged and accommodated death."⁶ It was also testimony to the enduring attraction of the "picturesque" site which William Hamilton, some fifty years prior, had labored to perfect in America by translating the English style.

At the time John Jay Smith and his search committee selected The Woodlands for their cemetery enterprise, a speculator by the name of Thomas Mitchell owned the land "annexed to the Mansion house."⁷ The property had been conveyed to Mitchell by Thomas Flemming on August 10, 1831. Flemming had purchased the property from the Hamilton estate legatees just two and a half years prior, on January 4, 1828.⁸ No records have been located that would indicate that any modifications to the property took place during either of the ownerships.

In the early months of 1840, Eli Kirk Price, an experienced Philadelphia real estate lawyer, presented his

"outline or scheme of The Woodlands Cemetery" to Thomas Mitchell.⁹ Contained in the memorandum was an outline for the formation of a stock company and a financial analysis of the proposed venture. Price, in addition, detailed a "plan of conveyance &c. in respect to The Woodlands."¹⁰ Within the articles of the plan, a detailed legal transfer of property was described. In brief, Thomas Mitchell was to transfer ownership of the property to a second person who, in turn, would convey it to a group known as "Trustees of The Woodlands Estate."¹¹ On July 13, 1840, The Woodlands 91-1/2 acres became the property of the Trustees.¹² Garrick Mallery, Samuel Edwards, Thomas Mitchell and Eli K. Price were the four men named as the Trustees.¹³ This group of owners then conveyed a portion of the property to the incorporated Woodlands Cemetery Company,

The grounds lying between Woodlands and Lehman Streets, containing about 70 acres in trust for the purposes expressed in the Act of Incorporation passed 1st of April 1840.¹⁴

Named in "An Act to Incorporate 'The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia'" were:

Charles J. Ingersoll, Benjamin Stiles, Thomas Mitchell, Henry Austie, John Lindsay, William E. Lehman, John V. Cowell, Andrew D. Cash, Robert Ewing, William H. Moore, Jacob Lex, Eli K. Price, Philip M. Price, Benjamin G. Mitchell, Charles F. Lex, Henry Leech, and Garrick Mallery [as] a body politic, and corporate in law.¹⁵

Preceding the list of names in the act was a paragraph which succinctly stated their purpose for incorporation:

Whereas the practice of crowding the dead within small spaces in populous cities is repugnant to the feeling and prejudicial to the health of the living, and is becoming yearly more inconvenient, expensive, and dangerous. And whereas, a number of citizens of the Commonwealth hereinafter named have associated for the purpose of establishing a rural cemetery at The Woodlands in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, intending to appropriate the greater portion thereof for the purpose of interments, whereby the beautiful landscape and scenery of that situation may be perpetually preserved, and its ample space for free circulation of air, and groves of trees afford a security against encroachments upon the dead, and health and solace to the living: and whereas, The said associators have petitioned to be incorporated with the necessary powers for effecting the important objects aforesaid. Therefore, be it enacted.¹⁴

Credit for the statement, in fact, the entire Act or Charter was acknowledged as "being the work of [Mr. Price's] mind."¹⁷ Furthermore, it was through Eli K. Price's "great experience and judgement" that The Woodlands Cemetery Company was guided for the next forty-four years.

Despite the initial exertions of Mr. Price and the support of the other Corporators, the early years of The Woodlands Cemetery were marked by inertia. Part of the reason for inactivity could be attributed to "the sharp and deep depression of 1837" which lingered on until 1843.¹⁸ This situation only exacerbated the dilemma that a mortgage of "fifteen thousand dollars and interest upon The Woodlands Estate in West Philadelphia [had been] made and executed by Thomas Mitchell" and not yet satisfied at the time of conveyance.¹⁹ The minutes of an adjourned meeting of the

Managers of The Woodlands Cemetery Company held on March 18, 1843, explained clearly how this incumbrance affected the Cemetery and its purposes:

The great difficulty in the purchase of The Woodlands and in preparing and disposing of it as a cemetery arises from its being mortgaged for \$15,000. This mortgage must be paid off before the public will have confidence or the Cemetery Company can acquire a perfect title to the property or feel warranted in offering the Lots for sale. How this is to be done and a fee simple title to the property acquired by The Woodlands Cemetery Company is a question of some embarrassment and will admit of a diversity of opinion.²⁰

A proposition was made that would raise sufficient funds for the purpose of extinguishing the mortgage. It was placed before the Company's Board of Managers for their consideration.

The proposal was based on the sale of shares or certificates which would yield, to the shareholders, "pecuniary advantages" as burial lots were sold.²¹ (Figure 43 and 44). The proposal, coupled with an agreement between The Woodlands Cemetery Company and Peter Bousquet, Esq., who held the mortgage, was thought to be the most judicious way of putting the cemetery on sound footing.²² The scheme was devised in such a way as to pay off the bond within five years through periodic payments in exchange for which Peter Bousquet would not sue. After describing the arrangements and presenting the financial analysis to the Board of Managers, a statement was appended that was intended to leave few in

doubt of the proposals eventual success, despite a stifled economy:

The views thus presented and the calculations made by your Committee may possibly be thought too sanguine by those who have fully considered the subject, and if the pressure of the times should continue may not be speedily to the full extent realized; but the facts stated must convince all the many and peculiar advantages of The Woodlands, and hold out strong inducements to assist in converting it into a cemetery. To these facts many others could be added such as the rare and picturesque beauty of its forest and scenery, its favorable soil surface and position, its contiguity and yet separation from the City. In these and all respects, it is universally conceded to be unsurpassed by any other in the vicinity of our City as a great metropolitan place of interment and at the same time a retired quiet and rural abode for the dead of easy access to the living--such a place of sepulture is wanted by the Citizens of Philadelphia and properly conducted must and will receive their patronage.²³

Consent was given for the plan and within one year enough capital had been raised so that "Mr. Bousquet had executed a Release of the portions of the Cemetery grounds within the limits of Mansion, Oak, Cypress and Elm Avenues, containing about 18-1/2 acres."²⁴

The reference to avenues is a distinct indication that efforts to develop The Woodlands pleasure grounds, for place of sepulture, was not entirely hampered by the inability to acquire clear title to the property. In actuality, Philip M. Price, brother of Eli, was appointed to "be the surveyor to lay out the grounds," on July 13, 1840, and was "requested to proceed forthwith with the work."²⁵ The selection of Philip

M. Price, no doubt, was due to "the practical experience [he] had obtained in designing and laying out the Laurel Hill and Monument [of late De L'Amérique Pere La Chaise] Cemeteries."²⁶ His Report to the Managers of The Woodlands, dated February 18, 1843, contained a description of the work accomplished to that date:

The whole of the carriage-roads designated on the plan, were actually traced out upon the ground, and many of them graded--amounting in aggregate length to about three miles--and being in width about twenty feet. Part of the ground was also subdivided into suitable lots, with access to each by alleys, or walks, as is also exhibited upon the plan.

The whole quantity of ground between Woodlands Street and Lehman Street, is about seventy-eight acres; the whole of which should, if possible, be devoted to cemetery purposes. Any encroachment upon this plot for the purpose of creating building lots, besides curtailing the space, which I am satisfied, will eventually not be found too large, would greatly mask and impair the beauty of the grounds and surrounding scenery, to which so much of the attraction is owing.

The ground occupied by the carriage-roads or drives, is about seven acres, leaving about seventy-one acres for lots and the walks communicating with them, from which some deduction must also be made for the buildings.²⁷

Even though Philip Price had design experience requisite for composing picturesque rural cemetery circulation patterns, the Managers thought it prudent to send both men, Philip and also Eli K. Price, as a committee "to view Mount Auburn Cemetery with leave to procure such plans as may be of service in laying out Woodlands Cemetery."²⁸ The committee was

authorized to begin their investigation on July 13, 1840, and at an adjourned meeting of Managers held on February 25, 1843, they filed their report. Its content was so revealing of Eli K. Price's observations and analytical ability, that it is quoted here in its entirety:

In order that it may appear that the Committee appointed to visit Mount Auburn Cemetery, did not neglect the duty of their appointment, it is proper to Report that the undersigned at an early date after their nomination, made a visit to that cemetery, to one then recently commenced at Salem, and to another more advanced at Worcester, all in Massachusetts. The plans of all these were carefully examined and studied on the ground, and the undersigned proceeded to plan for The Woodlands Cemetery with all the knowledge that could be derived from an acquaintance with the cemeteries above named. How far the plan of the latter was influenced by our visit to the former, it is not easy for us to distinguish, as no cemetery can be laid out with judgement or taste, without a close adaptation of the avenues and walks to the grounds and scenery through which they pass. We think that while every part of The Woodlands is brought within convenient access from the avenues, they are not so multiplied as to become involved in a labyrinth, and lead with an easy declivity to every point of varied scenery of that matchless place. In these particulars, and its greater simplicity of plan, we think it presents advantages over the cemeteries visited by us at the East, while in openness of prospect, and ever changing views, & beautiful groves, it finds no parallel in the far-famed Mount Auburn. Much of the latter is shut in and obstructed by undergrowths of trees and bushes; the hills, and hollows are often abrupt, and the whole is a loose sand formation not so well adapted for interments as the gravelly soil and more gentle slopes of The Woodlands. Yet to the taste and enterprise of those distinguished men who started the Mount Auburn, the first of the kind in this Country, the highest praise and gratitude are due by all who feel an interest in the subject of the removal of the dead from the midst of the dense population of our Cities, and the placing them in association with the beautiful works of nature; thus

making them the means of preserving open space, and some of the finest park scenery near our towns, which otherwise would be prostrated in the progress of building improvements.

The undersigned have also since, visited the cemetery near Baltimore [Green Mount], like The Woodlands, having been the country seat of a former opulent proprietor, it retains many of the marks of their taste, in the preservation of its groves and agreeable prospects; yet are they less varied, attractive and beautiful than those which combine in their scenery the windings of the Schuylkill, the spires and public buildings of Philadelphia, and the blue line of New Jersey stretching along the Eastern and Southern horizon, beyond the bright surface of the Delaware.

The times have been adverse to the opening of The Woodlands for the purpose of sepulture; yet the Committee earnestly hope there may yet be found zeal and pride sufficient to rescue so much beautiful scenery from destruction, and preserve it in its varied aspects for the gratification of our posterity. This can only be done by devoting it wholly from its northern line to the River Street [Lehman], to the purpose of a rural cemetery, and for ever restricting its water from obstruction by building.

Though the Cemetery Company had not actually acquired the title to the ground, it was well understood that the purpose of vesting it in trustees for sale, was, that it might be devoted to the object of a cemetery, under the act authorizing a purchase for that purpose. It was, therefore, by consent and authority of both the trustees and the Company that the plan was made, and all the avenues surveyed on the ground, and most of them actually cut out and graded. After a considerable lapse of time, the Committee see nothing to remedy in this plan, and recommend its adoption and continuance to the present Board of Managers.²⁹

The avenues, indeed, remained as they had been planned with Mansion Avenue, William Hamilton's original approach, retained as the primary entry road. (Figure 45 & 46). By necessity,

"the privilege of the present entry between the lodges [Hamilton's]," was secured, allowing the corporation access to Mansion Avenue.³⁰

While Eli K. Price and Philip M. Price were engaged in their survey of other cemeteries and actively planning the layout of The Woodlands Cemetery, other Corporators were seeking professional advise for improvements. Thomas Mitchell engaged a Philadelphia architect, Thomas Ustick Walter, who had supplied a design for the stone wall at Laurel Hill Cemetery.³¹ Walter's account book entry for November 15, 1840, indicated that he charged "\$20 to design for altering the front of Woodlands Cemetery."³² Although no plans have been found, it is probable that this entry refers to a study for the modification or addition to the lodges. Later corporate minutes indicated that Hamilton's old lodges were altered to accept gates and stone walls were constructed on either side of them along Woodlands Street.³³ (See Figure 17).

Few entries in the Minutes of the Corporators or of the Managers suggest that any further thought was given for physical alterations to The Woodlands until the agreement with Peter Bousquet was reached on May 6, 1843.³⁴ Activities associated with the conversion, of what had been William Hamilton's pleasure grounds to cemetery use, resumed in the late summer of that year when a "receiving vault" was

constructed.³⁵ This was followed by heightened surveying endeavors. The Manager's Meeting minutes, of October 28, 1843, stated:

that the surveyor be requested forthwith to layout lots for churches, shareholders and lot purchasers within the limits between Mansion, Oak, Cypress and Elm Avenues.³⁶

The mention of churches was significant, since it indicated an attempt by The Woodlands Cemetery Company to re-establish sanctified burial grounds removed from the urban core. No doubt this was part of an attempt at dissolving the attachment of parishes to the practice of burial within the confines of those "unhealthy, grime [and], insecure" churchyards located within Philadelphia.³⁷

From the very outset, the Company Corporators intended to accommodate the re-establishment of Philadelphia's church cemeteries at The Woodlands. The Company's by-laws and regulations, written on July 13, 1840, suggest this and also that a segregationist policy was to be observed:

No interment shall take place without a permit from the Treasurer, except within the ground that may be purchased by Churches or Congregations for which permit the sum of twenty five cents shall be paid to the Treasurer--and none other than white persons shall be interred in any part of the Cemetery; and no body shall remain in the receiving tomb or vault longer than ten days.³⁸

The importance of attracting churches to establish extra-urban burial grounds within The Woodlands Cemetery is further evidenced by resolutions of the Managers which were recorded

on September 1, 1840:

Resolved, that the price of land by the acre for Churches and Congregations shall be four thousand dollars per acre; subject to a contribution of ten per cent of the price of all lots resold to permanent improvement fund; the first contracting parties to have the first choice.

Resolved, that the Centre and South Circles and the intermediate divisions, and the Schuylkill and Woodlands Street fronts be at present reserved from sale to Churches and Congregations.³⁹

The mention of resale, in the former resolution, was an indication of the Cemetery Company's understanding that urban churches and clergy had partially supplemented their incomes from the sale of grave plots in church yards.⁴⁰ By giving the churches an opportunity to buy large parcels and re-sell the subdivided lots, thus assuring a continued source of revenue for the churches, the cemetery company managers believed, perhaps, that they could further overcome the apprehensions of the clergy toward recommending and patronizing this particular rural cemetery. (Appendix III).

Still another resolution, adopted on March 18, 1843, offered churches additional inducement to establish last resting places for their congregation at The Woodlands. Resolution VII gave any subscribing church the option of buying blocks of company stock on a time plan. The church's shares entitled them to a certain quantity of burial lots which could, in turn, be resold to congregation members immediately after the first installment payment was made.

Therefore, with minimum down payment the subscribing church could realize a quick pecuniary advantage. In addition, the certificate holding congregations:

shall have the privilege of selecting the lots it may be entitled to contiguous to each other, with so much more ground not exceeding 30,000 square feet as it may desire for such ten shares in a compact form and thus obtain a section of the cemetery which may be designed by the name of the Church or congregation.⁴¹ [Appendix IV].

Identification of a section of the cemetery with a specific congregation was possibly as attractive to the church as it was to the lot owner within it. By virtue of how the bylaws were written, churches could "sell Lots to their respective members only, or to such persons or families as may be worshippers of their respective Church."⁴² This virtually guaranteed that families of congregations and all parishioners of a specific church would be associated in this final resting place as they had in life. (Figure 47 and 48).

The emphasis on the necessity of preserving close associations among friends and family members in their last earthly home was of paramount importance to those who were involved in preparing The Woodlands for its new purpose. Like the suburban neighborhoods which were becoming the domestic haven for the more fortunate class, away from the urban industrial core, the rural cemeteries were evolving into sacred family retreats removed from the sprawl of the metropolis. The original Corporators of The Woodlands

Cemetery Company were undoubtedly aware of this trend as they strove to promote the fitness of their cemetery. Eli Kirk Price definitely understood the importance of The Woodlands Cemetery's role as it related to the perceived association between family and friends, both in life and death. Part of his report to fellow Corporators, in 1849, expressed it well:

The tranquil scene and quiet retreat, the sombre shades beneath the groves, or bright prospects in the distance that attract the living of various mood, will cause them to wish [here] to repose and [here] to place their friends. There have already been deposited the remains of many human bodies and the spot where they rest has become sacred to the affection of their living friends, more sacred than the deep recesses of the forest appointed for Druidic service to its worshipers. Friend attracts friend, and families their associated families by numberless affinities and lies in the ample surface of this cemetery to become associates in death as in life and lie side by side or commingle their ashes.⁴³

The new mid-19th century focus on suburban community and "the intimate relationship and constant intercourse, and interdependence between families" within the community was thus extended into eternity by the extra-urban burial grounds of The Woodlands and other institutions of its kind.⁴⁴

To physically make evident that these associations should and would be respected, guarded against violation, and "afforded security against encroachments," contracts for enclosing fences were quickly issued.⁴⁵ On June 3, 1843, at a meeting of the Managers of The Woodlands Cemetery "a plan and specification of the lodges and wall along Woodland Street

and a palisade fence along Lehman Street was approved."⁴⁶ Earlier, on September 1, 1840, a committee had been authorized:

to treat with the managers of the Alms House [northeast of The Woodlands] as to a division fence or wall between the two estates.⁴⁷

Each effort, plus the immediate appointment of a superintendent in 1840, could be viewed as an attempt by The Woodlands Cemetery Company to build the public's confidence in the institution and to fulfill its purpose as an inviolate alternative to the frequently desecrated urban church yards.

From the outset, the security of the burial ground at The Woodlands appeared to be a major concern. To assure that protection of the property was always provided for a funding mechanism was adopted on July 13, 1840, which applied "ten percent of the purchase money of all burial lots sold" to an income yielding investment:⁴⁸

the treasurer to create a fund to be invested in Ground Rents and Mortgages, the income whereof shall be applied as may be necessary for the improvement and perpetual maintenance of the Cemetery in proper order and security.⁴⁹

In fact, this had been stipulated in "An Act to Incorporate 'The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia'" passed by the State Legislature on April 13, 1840.⁵⁰ Another section of the Act to Incorporate, although not pertaining to enclosure, was aimed at protection of the grounds from encroachment:

that forasmuch as humanity and a decent respect for

the dead, and the feelings for the survivors, require that the graves of the deceased should never be violated, nor families separated in their last resting place, no public street, road, or passage shall ever be opened through the said cemetery.³¹

In 1873, this pronouncement was challenged when the City of Philadelphia apparently sought to open South Street through the grounds of the Cemetery. To suppress rumors and calm lot holders' fears, a legal opinion was printed and circulated. After citing judicial precedents, the public announcement concluded by stating that:

From these facts it will appear that there is no power either in the City Authorities or in the State Legislature to authorize the opening of South, or any other street through the Cemetery, and lotholders and the public may be assured that these grounds will remain inviolate when City improvements and buildings have passed miles beyond.³²

Always aware that it was the lot holders and prospective lot holders who needed to be assured of protective measures, the Executive Committee of The Woodlands Cemetery Company focused increasing amounts of attention on the Woodlands Street frontage. This public byway bordered the entire northwest property line of the cemetery and was the thoroughfare by which visitors approached and entered the cemetery grounds. It was obvious that, of all the walls, the one on the Woodlands Street or Darby Road should be the most substantial in appearance. The Executive Committee, comprised of Eli K. Price (future state senator), Governor Edward Coles, Richard Vaux (future mayor of Philadelphia), and Thomas

Mitchell judged that an eight foot high, capped stone wall would suffice.³³ On July 1, 1843, "an agreement with Dennis Kennedy concerning building the wall, the whole distance of the tract on that road" was approved.³⁴

On November 4, 1843, "palisade fences on the south east and south west side of the Cemetery according to the specifications to be furnished by the surveyor" were authorized to be advertized. Requests for bids were placed in the United States Gazette, The Pennsylvanian, and the Public Ledger.³⁵ After some delay, funds were sufficient to "contract with Mr. James Leslie for putting up the palisade fence according to his proposals."³⁶ All of the red cedar trees, perhaps planted by William Hamilton to screen his view of Jones' property, were "cut down and disposed of to Mr. Leslie to be used in the fence he is now constructing under the direction of the Executive Committee."³⁷

By September 1844, The Woodlands Cemetery was nearing the point of having all its boundaries enclosed by a fence of one type or another. At that point, the Managers obviously decided that the entry between the two lodges on Woodland Street needed to be secured as well. At a special Meeting of the Managers on September 12, 1844, "Mr. [John] Notman [the architect for Laurel Hill's gatehouse, was] requested to furnish a plan for the consideration of the Board for an iron gateway."³⁸ Whether Notman's plans were used cannot be

determined, but on November 8, 1844, the Managers authorized the Executive Committee "to contract forthwith for Iron Gates on the Woodlands Street to be constructed in a neat and chaste style and without any emblematic embellishments."⁵⁹ At a meeting of the Managers, on November 16, 1844, it was resolved that:

Mr. Leslie be requested to repair the lodges at The Woodlands to include new sash and glazing and covering the exterior and chimney with mastic--and painting the woodwork and also to cause the foundations to be laid for the gate.⁶⁰

A resolution, passed on December 7, 1844, stated that "the City Gates be bought for sixty dollars."⁶¹ On February 1, 1845, Eli K. Price made a note which said: "Mr. Mingus reported that the gates have been erected, and locks ordered to be placed on each gate."⁶²

On the same day, at a stated managers meeting, Mr. Price made a motion and it was resolved:

that the Secretary shall address circulars to such persons as have represented Church congregations in their negotiations informing them that the grounds are now enclosed and prepared for interments.⁶³

Those churches which had entered into agreement with The Woodlands Cemetery Company consisted of "the Church of the Epiphany, St Andrews (Episcopal), St. Paul (Episcopal), St Philips & Grace churches."⁶⁴ As of March 1845, none of the churches had been able to bury members of their congregations at The Woodlands. As a matter of fact, no burials of any kind had taken place.

Since the passage of the Act of Incorporation in April, 1840, five years had passed, during which time The Woodlands Cemetery Company's efforts were almost singularly applied to assuring its success as a business venture. Only during the year and a half prior to the first burial, on March 28, 1845, were significant alterations made to put the grounds in order for their intended purpose. It was also in this short period, before the cemetery's opening, that the managers appealed for improved public road conditions leading to the Cemetery's main entrance. Easy access and proximity to the city were aspects that all of Philadelphia's rural cemeteries touted as advantages. Therefore, the Managers of The Woodlands Cemetery Company must have felt compelled to exert whatever influence they could "upon the subject of a Bridge over Mill Creek and the improvement of Woodlands Street or Darby Road."⁴⁵

A jury assembled on the ground near the site of the proposed "Construction of a Bridge over Mill Creek" in December 1843.⁴⁶ The Cemetery Company's appeal was rejected since "the present pecuniary circumstances of the Country [made] it inexpedient to erect the said bridge."⁴⁷ A more favorable response was received regarding Woodland Street. On September 19, 1845, Eli K. Price met "by appointment a Committee of the Commissioners of Roads of Blockley [Township], on the subject of grading and improving Darby Road [Woodland Street]."⁴⁸ Mr. Price recorded, on that same day,

that he:

had an interview with the [Philadelphia] County Commissioners relative to the finishing of the bridge over the Darby Road, and grading of the road there, and they seemed favourably disposed to our object.⁶⁹

In response to grading "the Darby Road from Chestnut Street to The Woodlands gate," Mr. Price noted that on October 7, 1845, "the grades have been given and the improvement of the Road commenced."⁷⁰

During the same period that the roadway leading to The Woodlands Cemetery gate was being improved and the perimeter fences were being constructed, thought was being given to how the grounds and buildings themselves could be made more presentable. By 1844, the "old hot house and conservatory and adjoining grounds" which had been major attractions under William Hamilton's stewardship, had fallen into disrepair.⁷¹ A committee, headed by Eli K. Price, was appointed on September 27, 1844, "on the subject of renting the hot house and adjoining ground in a lease not exceeding five years."⁷² By October 14, 1844, Mr. Price reported that he had prepared:

a draught of a lease of the Green House and adjacent grounds which had been submitted to William Carvill and approved by Mr. Carvill.⁷³

Conditions of the lease made it perfectly clear what the Cemetery Company's expectations were:

And forthwith to proceed to improve the said premises and make the Greenhouses and grounds round them ornamental and attractive by cultivating flowers and laying out walks and beds in a tasteful manner, and keeping them in clean condition, it

being a principal object of this lease to make the grounds attractive to visitors.⁷⁴

Aside from the allurements of the greenhouse and garden, there still existed all of the buildings which William Hamilton had constructed as a design ensemble uniting the landscaped pleasure ground and architectural features into a unified whole. This original picturesque design intent was not lost on Eli K. Price who wrote that:

Further improvements in a subdued taste and a proper subordination to the existing features of the place which were the original motive of its attraction and choice for the object to which it has been devoted [are to be encouraged].⁷⁵

From the outset this philosophy was followed in the treatment of the old plantation dwelling and dependencies, and it was intended to apply to all features thereafter. By 1849, Eli K. Price was able to report that:

The Mansion and lodges, though ruinous by time have been restored and are found appropriate to the purposes of the Cemetery, harmonious in design and befitting the scene in which they are placed.⁷⁶

It is of interest to note that the mansion was thought to be "appropriate to the purposes of the cemetery" in a transformed way. In March 1843, the meeting minutes of the managers noted that the "mansion [was] contemplated to be converted into a church &c."⁷⁷ In fact, the largest room on the first floor of the mansion, the saloon, was dedicated for use as a chapel.⁷⁸

The carriage house and stable served similar purposes as they had in Hamilton's time. Carts, tools, and other

implements and materials associated with maintaining the grounds and digging graves would have been stored here. Horses, owned by the superintendent and employed to assist in hauling, would have used the old stalls.⁷⁹ The lofts would have held the hay which was still being mown on the property in 1845 and 1847.⁸⁰

The two lodges, at the mansion drive entry, also functioned in a like manner as they had fifty years before. From the Cemetery Company's formation in 1840 until the lodges were torn down in 1855, a gatekeeper and his family resided in them and provided an additional measure of security for the grounds.⁸¹ Still another of William Hamilton's structures proved to have continued use. What had been the plantation's ice house was adapted for temporary storage of bodies when conditions prevented immediate burial. Eli K. Price noted that:

If the vault near house too damp, then that in centre circle to be fitted up, and shelves placed in it. Begun to repair and alter the ice house in the centre of centre circle into a receiving vault.⁸²

The old ice house mound was large enough for Mr. Price to point out that it could be an attraction as well as serving a utilitarian function:

From this position when surmounted by seats some of the best views may be had at a point of considerable elevation.⁸³

This was truly an adaptive use that gave heightened meaning

to the later pronouncement that The Woodlands plantation structures were "found appropriate to the purposes of the cemetery."⁸⁴

One function of The Woodland Cemetery Company, however, was not thought appropriate for any of the plantation structures. It was deemed that the "office for the agency of the Company "should be located within the City of Philadelphia."⁸⁵ It must be remembered that the city, in 1850, was only two square miles in size. Its western most boundary was the Schuylkill River and its urban residential development reached not much beyond Broad Street.⁸⁶ The Woodlands Cemetery was then "about a mile southwestward of the City of Philadelphia," in a still very rural Blockley Township.⁸⁷ In 1850, the metropolitan population, just over 121,000 inhabitants, was therefore the focus for marketing the idea of "removal of the dead from the dense population of our [city], and placing them in association with the beautiful works of nature."⁸⁸ Consequently, the Managers' decision to establish a business office in the center of population was not only a sound marketing decision but also one aimed at demonstrating a modern business approach by a new institution.

By November 4, 1843, "the appointment of an agent had been made. The "committee to procure an agent" reported also, that they had "rented a furnished office on the west side of Seventh Street above Walnut Street."⁸⁹ The agent's

responsibilities were to sell lots on commission and:

act as Secretary of the Association [with] authorization to procure Books &c. and do whatever may be necessary for a regular and systematic prosecution of the Company.⁹⁰

Four years later, on December 1, 1847, a motion was made that a Committee of Corporators should:

ascertain whether its prosperity could not be promoted by having an office in a public and central position attended by a competent person for the use and in the employ of this Corporation.⁹¹

There is reason to believe that in the intervening years The Woodlands Cemetery had received increasing public regard because it was "the most perfect both in respect to convenience and impressive beauty," and that it was this higher visibility which caused the company to consider office space within the City in keeping with the Cemetery's increased renown.⁹² Perhaps another reason to broaden the company's exposure, with "an office in a [more] public and central position," was to eclipse the competition that Eli K. Price mentioned in his report on December 31, 1849.

The business prospects of the Cemetery are steadily improving, and the interest of all are progressing though it be not perceived in the shape of dividends. It is to be recollected that the past year has exhibited a great increase of Cemetery Rivalry: there have been opened of those claiming a rural character, the South Laurel Hill, Glenwood, Oddfellows and the [?], besides some attached to churches. Yet The Woodlands has attracted an increase of attention.⁹³

Of course, the "increase of attention" was a desired response from the inhabitants of the City, but it had not come

about without the calculated and intentional exertions of the Company and its Corporators. At least four churches subscribed for allotments by stock purchases prior to June 22, 1845, due to individual Corporators' influence."⁹⁴ By April 22, 1845, printed statements were being circulated "of the advantages and inducements to churches and congregations in becoming shareholders in The Woodlands Cemetery Company."⁹⁵ As early as February 3, 1844, circulars had been prepared "calling on all persons interested to pay their subscriptions."⁹⁶ The largest advertising campaign, however, was not by circular but through the newspapers. On January 15, 1845, the Executive Committee was given the liberty, by the Managers to "advertise lots in the Cemetery for sale as they may think it useful so to do."⁹⁷ Eli K. Price noted on February 6, 1845, that he and Benjamin C. Wilcocks "advertised in the U.S. Gazette, Inquirer, & N. America, by the year, for one quarter in Ledger and one month in Daily Chronicle."⁹⁸

Advertisements, however, were only part of the campaign to arouse public acceptance and encourage patronage of this rural cemetery. Although less overt and without mentioning the institution by name, nonetheless, the acts of the Managers brought the message of need for undisturbed extra-urban sepulchre to the notice of many. Coinciding with their ads in the major Philadelphia newspapers which announced The Woodlands Cemetery's attributes, the Executive Committee paid

for a reporter to cover a lecture, given by Dr. John A. Elkinton at the Philadelphia Medical Society's Meeting on January 25, 1845. John Elkinton, M.D., who established Monument Cemetery (late De L'Amerique Pere La Chaise) in 1837, delivered an address on "The Danger of Cemeteries in Large Cities."⁹⁹ Not only did the Executive Committee of The Woodlands Cemetery Company pay for the reporter's coverage but for the publication of his report running two full columns, in the Pennsylvanian Inquirer on Wednesday, January 29, 1845, as well.¹⁰⁰

The Executive Committee, convinced that the report contained so much bearing on the public's health, bought "150 copies of the paper, and [had them] sent to each member of the [State] Legislature, and to others."¹⁰¹ To emphasize their point regarding the necessity for provisions abolishing urban burials the Executive Committee of The Woodlands Cemetery followed through with a second petition to the Legislature. On February 6, 1845, one of the Corporators, Edward Hopper, Esq. delivered "a copy of Chadwick's report to each member of the Legislature."¹⁰² Edwin Chadwick's Sanitary Report on Interments in Towns, was a highly respected "examination of the evidence as to the effects produced on the public health, by the practice of interring the dead amidst the habitations of the towns population" made in England by Parliamentary authority.¹⁰³ An additional 175 copies of Chadwick's report

were delivered to John W. Moore, a Philadelphia bookseller, for sale to the public under the direction of the Executive Committee.¹⁰⁴ In addition, the committee was authorized to have "an increased edition of one thousand copies struck off."¹⁰⁵

The Executive Committee of The Woodlands Cemetery Company did not stop there. They also had "a bill for prohibition of burials within the City of Philadelphia, Southwark and N. Liberties districts after the 1 Jan'y 1860," sent to each member of the Legislature.¹⁰⁶ Drawn up by Eli K. Price, the "memorial" read:

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE PETITION OF CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA,

Respectfully represents, --
that in their opinion the period has arrived in the growth of Philadelphia, when provision should be made against burials within its limits. A proper regard for the health of the living and the secure repose of the dead demands this measure. The experience of older cities, which will be laid before your members, abundantly proves how offensive and poisonous are the exhalations of the putrefying dead in the midst of a dense living population, and how insecure are the interred remains of the deceased from the cupidity of those who profit by the frequent repetition of burials within the limited spaces allotted for them. The steady march of building improvement, to meet the requirements of business and of convenient residences, also frequently encroachments upon the grave-yards of the city, and human bones are disturbed to prepare building foundations. Warned by the lesson of history, it is the part of wise foresight and true philanthropy to avert the evil by preventive remedy, rather than leave it 'till grown inveterate by time and habit for other generations to eradicate.

Your petitioners, therefore, respectfully ask such a legislative enactment on this subject as will be protective of the health of the people while living, and promote the deposit of their earthly remains after death without the city's limits, where abundant vegetation shall absorb and the free winds dissipate the noxious effluvia arising from decaying bodies; where the repose of the dead shall be undisturbed, and they may peaceably moulder into kindred dust,--accessible and venerated relics, amid nature's beautiful and impressive groves, inviting the visitation of surviving friends and teaching salutary lessons to the human heart.¹⁰⁷

That there should be "proper regard for the health of the living" and, that one of the ways to demonstrate this consideration was the removal of disease causing entities from the "midst of a dense living population," was a fairly recent acknowledgement in early 19th century America. Half a century earlier, in France and England, during the 1770's, "the development of biological and chemical discoveries focused attention on the problems of urban health."¹⁰⁸ The medical, scientific, ecclesiastic, and legislative bodies all recognized "the role of air in transmission of disease."¹⁰⁹ The medical profession even went so far as to identify the causes of air putrefaction as emanating from latrines, slaughterhouses, hospitals, prisons and church cemeteries.¹¹⁰

The physicians of Philadelphia, in the early 19th century, soon singled out the urban church cemeteries as the most common offenders producing "effluvia and poisonous miasmata."¹¹¹ Prior to this time little concern had been shown simply because Philadelphia's population was comparatively

small, not particularly dense, and there was ample space within the churchyards for the small congregation's burial needs. Philadelphia, in 1790, unlike European metropolises had an abundance of cheap land within the edge of the city boundary so land had always been available for new burial grounds in close proximity to parishioners.¹¹² Of course, all of that changed rapidly with increasing urbanization, mechanization of industry, migration of the rural population to the urban center, and "waves of poor immigrants."¹¹³ The old municipality of Philadelphia, which had a population of 28,522 in 1790, saw the number of its citizens swell to 121,376 by 1850.¹¹⁴ An increase in death rates paralleled the population's growth thus taxing the city graveyards' capacities to handle the bodies. Soon the inadequacy of downtown space for burial and the neglect of the grounds was painfully obvious. Dr. John Elkinton wrote in 1837:

Let those who doubt [that this is true], but visit a burial ground in the limits of this city [Philadelphia], and then judge for themselves. They will find in many of them, graves crowded upon graves, while the sculptured marble is frequently seen torn from the head of the one it was intended to commemorate. But worse than all this, it too often happens, that when a new tomb is dug, and old one is laid open; and one body that has been slumbering a few years in peace, is removed from its resting place to make room for another, that has also ended its earthly career.¹¹⁵

These inadvertent exhumations, aside from being distressing to any witness, were thought to allow "mephitic vapour [and] morbid matter" into escape to the air. Exposure to these

"exhalations from decomposition [had] injurious effect upon the health and life of man."¹¹⁶

In contemporary medicine the emanations were said to cause disease, typhus in particular, as well as mental afflictions. They "so powerfully affect[ed] the nervous system as to produce high nervous disorder, [languor and nervous fevers] and occasionally excite[d] serious mischief in those exposed to their action."¹¹⁷ Edwin Chadwick's report stated that "amongst the means for preventing the escape of emanations [and therefore their effects on the body and mind of the living was] by absorbing and purifying them."¹¹⁸ His report continued with suggestions as to how this could be accomplished:

A rich vegetation exercises a powerful purifying influence, and where the emanations are moderate, as from single graves, would go far to prevent the escape of any deleterious miasma. It is conceived that the escapes of large quantities of deleterious gases by fissuring of the ground would often be in a very great degree prevented by turving over the surface, or by soiling, that is by laying vegetable mould of five or six inches in thickness and sowing it carefully with grasses whose roots spread and mesh together.¹¹⁹

Edwin Chadwick seemed to sum up his recommendations for the dissipation of putrid emanations by making a statement that fully endorsed rural cemeteries:

the influence, therefore, of a full variety of flowers and a rich vegetation, so natural for the actual purification of the atmosphere, as well as to remove associations of impurity, and refresh the eye and soothe the mind, can only be obtained at a distance from most towns.¹²⁰

Possibly, this "classic [publication, which] codified existing medical belief in an age before Pasteur and Koch," was viewed by the Executive Committee of The Woodlands Cemetery Company as such a potent promotional piece that it explains their printing order for a "2nd thousand of Chadwicks Sanitary Report" on March 11, 1845.¹²¹ To this edition, the Executive Committee had an "American Preface" added which contained in its final paragraph the remark that:

Here, in modern cemeteries of a rural character they will be placed beyond the reach of poisoning the living by the noxious effluvia of decomposition; here the vegetable growths will both absorb the miasmata and attract the living to renew upon the green sod, and under the shade of trees the moral influences produced by an association with the grave; and here so long as the affection of the living shall survive to cherish the memory of the dead will even their dust remain a sacred deposit, and its repose be religiously guarded.¹²²

The "American Preface" which was inserted by the Executive Committee was unsigned, and the memorial to the Legislature was noticeably ambiguous as to its authorship. It is likely that the Executive Committee and their fellow Corporators felt it imprudent to have their corporate name associated with such an overt movement to influence legislation of which they would be one of the prime beneficiaries, if enacted. Besides, they had already advertised their progressive thinking on this issue in The Charter, By-laws & Regulations of The Woodlands Cemetery Company. In The Charter, it is not difficult to hear the

resonance of the message contained in the other two publications. In a section of The Charter entitled "to the public" there is a paragraph remarkably similar in sound to the last paragraph in the petition:

Here, amid nature's beautiful works, embellished by taste, is offered the right of sepulture in perpetuity. Here in a dry and gravelly soil, the decaying bodies of the dead may securely moulder into kindred dust, with abundant vegetation and free winds to absorb and dissipate all noxious effluvia. Here, protected by the affectionate care of survivors and the guaranty of the law, may the grave 'not undistinguished be', but, marked by partial friendship, repay visitation by salutary lessons to the human heart.¹²³

Considering the lengths to which the Executive Committee went, it seems that they employed every reasonable and judicious means to promote the advantages of their rural site and to steer patrons in its direction. Affirmation of the promotional effort's effectiveness came soon after the announcement was made, in February, 1845, that The Woodlands Cemetery was "now enclosed and prepared for interments."¹²⁴ On April 10, 1845, "the remains of Commodore David Porter" were the first to be interred after removal from the Naval Asylum grounds.¹²⁵ The remains of Dr. John C. Otto were interred on April 15, 1845, and his "chaste and elegant monument [was] the first erected in the cemetery."¹²⁶ In July 1845, Eli K. Price, perhaps for the first time, witnessed a funeral procession in the cemetery which he had guided to realization. He made a note of his impressions:

Two funerals, of persons recently deceased, have

lately taken place in The Woodlands. On one occasion the long procession of carriages slowly winding beneath the groves of trees to the last resting place of the deceased was peculiarly solemn and impressive.¹²⁷

There can be little doubt that Mr. Price made note of his feelings because he was fully cognizant that his emotions had been aroused by the cortege moving "amid Nature's beautiful works, embellished by taste."¹²⁸

It is important to point out here that the conception of nature's role in the function of rural cemeteries "was equally as important as sanitary considerations."¹²⁹ It was the quality of the natural landscape scenery that was essential for positive impact on the contemplative mind.¹³⁰ For the bereft family or friend, nature was believed to have a soothing effect and assuage grief.¹³¹ The beneficent natural aspects of the rural cemetery offered privacy, quiet and solitude to mourners. In partaking of them, these scenes of serenity would bestow a "holy calm and long-desired tranquility" to the heart of the grieving.¹³² In time, the landscape of the rural cemetery was thought to remove "the terror of death and replace it with hope."¹³³

Eli K. Price was firmly convinced that The Woodlands Cemetery offered "tranquil scenes and a quiet retreat [surpassing] any other in the vicinity of Philadelphia."¹³⁴ In 1849 he reported to the Corporators that:

No other presents the same extent of unbroken space, the same varied surface, and the like variety of scenery within their borders nor an equal

appropriation of prospect of water and land beyond its boundary limited only by the distant horizon. Within its precincts are the light and shadows of hills and vales, woods, park and lawn in ample space; the valley deepened and the hill elevated by the woods that crown the later; whence through vistas are seen church spires bright and winding streams and woodlands so distant as to be azure tinted lending enchantment to the view; and though hushed is the 'garden of peace', beneath its headlands floats a busy commerce, its wings widely spread upon unseen hulls and moving as by the power of magic through green fields and sylvan scenes.¹³⁵

In effect, the cemetery was seen as being on the "frontier between two worlds," literally and figuratively.¹³⁶ It was an elevated, sylvan retreat with a view of the city, at once reminding the visitor of the din and turmoil of artificial urban life while appearing to offer natural sanctuary and the promise of peace and repose beyond this world.

The physical organization of the rural cemetery within the wild and lovely Arcadian vale was in fact, a pastoral counterpoint to the relentless urban grid and the congestion of the city.¹³⁷ The contour hugging curvilinear avenues of The Woodlands Cemetery and its grave sites stood in stark contrast to the uniform, rectilinear plat of the churchyard lots within the narrow confines of the city. The churchyards were "crowded into nearly every corner" of the metropolis where they took on the "appearance of cities of the dead [among the] congregation of the living."¹³⁸ Whereas the steady march of Philadelphia's gridiron plan reflected the rapid economic expansion and speculative mood of the 19th century

city, the picturesque curving lines of avenues and paths in The Woodlands and other rural cemeteries echoed the moral and civic minded counterbalances of social and institutional reform.

The meandering carriage ways and sinuous foot paths and undulating and winding promenades encouraged "rambles of curiosity, health, [and] pleasure."¹³⁹ Their envisioned purpose, however, was to serve as "meditative wanderings through the landscape on which one might gain a lesson from nature."¹⁴⁰ For the founders of these institutions there were also practical reasons for placing the avenues and paths in conformance to the area's natural topography. "Such an arrangement provided easy access to all lots, economized in the cost of preparing the land for use, and achieved the picturesque effect of landscape gardening."¹⁴¹

The Woodlands Cemetery Company announced that such an efficient approach had been taken. A published statement, in 1845, said that:

The avenues for carriages, of easy grade, give convenient access to all the parts, and the footways conduct to every burial plot.¹⁴²

In plan form this was the case but, when the statement was printed and circulated, only a few of the carriage ways marked out by survey had been finished. Actually, only Hamilton's original drive (Mansion Drive) had been "completely graded, gravelled, rolled and sodded and dressed along [its] borders,"

by June 3, 1845.¹⁴³

With burials already commencing, there was an urgency, at least, to complete the carriage ways leading to the first cemetery sections opened for interments. Indeed, the Executive Committee, "whose duties [were] to make such arrangements as are and may become necessary for the active operations of the Company," reported accelerated progress in June, 1845.¹⁴⁴

The Center Circle avenue is nearly finished in like manner [to Mansion Avenue] and the gravel hole in it filled up and the circle itself graded & put in order. The next objects are the grading and gravelling [of] Vault Avenue which is necessary to complete the boundaries in Section E in which [the first] burials have commenced.

The Committee have also felt justified in throwing out the dirt in the avenue through the grounds leased to Mr. Carvill, as it is important to show the entire plan, and in a decree incorporate the garden with the Cemetery. It was only upon this condition that W. Carvill was willing it [Maple Avenue] should run through the ground according to the Cemetery plan.¹⁴⁵

By the end of November 1845, "the grading of [Maple] Avenue [was] in progress" but not yet ready to be graveled.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, "the gravelling of Elm Avenue [east of the mansion [had] been completed."¹⁴⁷

It would appear from Eli K. Price's notes that work on the carriage ways was suspended during the winter months and resumed the following summer. An entry made in the Executive Committee minutes book, late in 1846, said that "during the summer [the men] graveled Maple, Vault & Pine Avenue."¹⁴⁸ They

probably would have accomplished more during that season but were employed outside the cemetery's walls on an equally important task:

The men were about one month on the road [Darby or Woodland Streets] at the north west side of The Woodlands to work out about \$40 road tax, the residue of the time on account of the Township.¹⁴⁹

This was clear indication that the commissioners of roads of Blockley had agreed to allow the Cemetery Company to:

grade the Darby Road [Woodland Street] from Chestnut Street to The Woodlands Gate, according to levels to be furnished by the last surveyor for West Philadelphia. P. M. Price or Edward D. Roberts.¹⁵⁰

For the Executive Committee it was obvious that an improved public thoroughfare to the cemetery from the city took precedence over completion of the cemetery avenues themselves. It was undoubtedly more important for them to emphasize the ease of access from the urban core and facilitate prospective lot holders' visits to the institution's grounds.

After "inducing [the Guardians of the Poor's] cooperation in improving the Woodlands Road" and having the cemetery's men work on grading and filling it, their exertions were once again directed to the carriage ways and footpaths within the cemetery grounds. Eli K. Price's progress report, dated May 31, 1847, described the renewed vigor with which The Woodlands Cemetery grounds were tended, probably in recognition that the season of summer promenades was fast approaching and other cemeteries were competing for public notice:

The men have been employed mostly during the past

month in cleaning the avenues. Filling in the ground at the right of the entrance, and the gravel hole near Center Circle. To furnish the dirt for these objects the committee have cut the boundary footways of the sections next proposed to be laid out, including one of those in the Center Circle, to give a dry access to the receiving vault. The ground has also been graded at the intersection of the Vault Avenue and Center Circle Avenue, to reduce it to a slope corresponding with the contiguous ground and the north part of Center Circle Avenue has been filled, to diminish the depression there.

A commencement has been made to grade and gravel Oak Avenue. In order to bring a wider sweep of the grounds under improvements and observation. Something further seems necessary to extend over the grounds the character of a cemetery and give a more decided impression of its future appearance. The cost of the work will probably repay the expenditure in its ultimate results. Having rival cemeteries to contend with a liberal policy in this respect seems expedient as far as our limited resources will warrant.¹³¹

This passage, along with others which refer to landscape alterations between 1843 and 1848, point to the fact that preparation of William Hamilton's pleasure ground may have "demanded comparatively small additional expense in its preparation" for cemetery use, but certainly required a substantial amount of time to effect. It also reveals that the Executive Committee was not adverse to making significant land form modifications where they deemed it could be beneficial to the cemetery's access and convenient for the public's perambulations.

Changes not only occurred to the physical nature of the ground but also to the design of the lot configurations within the bounds of the avenues. On November 4, 1845, Edward D.

Roberts was "requested to survey the grounds north of the Mansion into burial lots."¹³² Seven months later, on June 2, 1846, Thomas Mitchell was "authorized to procure a design for the subdivision "of the very same section (F)."¹³³ The redesign was awarded to Thomas Ustick Walter who had been employed four years earlier to design the cemetery's lodge modifications. Walter's diary indicated three trips to the cemetery to survey and to prepare a drawing. The trips occurred between June 22, 1846, and July 3, 1846.¹³⁴ Even Philip Price's original design for Center Circle was reconfigured, prior to 1860, in a less intricate geometric pattern. It seems that, even though the general outline which was first produced for the cemetery was adhered to, freedom in manipulation of all its component parts was allowed throughout the initial twenty years of The Woodlands Cemetery's operation.

This is not to say that there was not a guiding influence. To the contrary, Eli K. Price, who directed almost all of the actual transformations gave evidence of the design philosophy he followed. In an 1847 Executive Committee entry he wrote that:

It may be proper here to record some general views kept in mind in laying out and improving the grounds, as on a recent occasion they seem not to have been understood, no doubt because not yet seen in their full development.

A first object in laying out a cemetery must be to bring the carriage ways within convenient access to every part of the ground. From which the bodies

may be carried through the alleys that divide the burial lots and give a passage to every grave. This has been actually done on The Woodlands grounds, and the same surveyed and cut out, but not at present all gravelled, because not yet needed.

These avenues have also been carried as to rise easily over the unequal surface where it is varied, and winding so as to avoid rising too abruptly over eminences or approaching too near other avenues, and also to economize by frequently using the ground least favorable for interments. In this respect it is believed the principles of taste have been consulted as well as fitness to the objects of business and profit in view. It is a rule in landscape gardening where there is ample space, and an irregular surface to follow a varied style of improvement. This avoids stiffness and monotony, conforms to the character of the ground and is therefore natural, and its convenience evinces a motive for what is done that in satisfying and pleasing to the mind.

Loudon says 'as a general rule, it may be safely laid down, that whenever a piece of ground to be laid out as a garden is small, and bounded by straight lines, the geometrical style is that which ought to be employed; that when the ground to be laid out as a garden is large, it may be laid out in any style, and partly in the irregular styles; and that where the surface of the ground is varied, the irregular style is most suitable; while the geometrical style should be preferred when the surface is even or flat'. Loudon's Suburban gardener [page] 169. [The Suburban Gardener & Villa Companion, 1886]

In conformity with this rule the Executive Committee have proceeded. Three fourths of The Woodlands is a varied surface, and over all that portion the avenues wind in conformity with the ground, the most where the ground is most irregular, and gradually winding less as the ground approaches the western side, where it becomes level, and here in some portions the avenues become straight, conforming both to the ground and the straight southwest and northwest boundary enclosures, and also with the most economical and convenient plotting of the grounds in parallelograms for burial lots. Thus when the motive of taste and convenience ceases, the irregular course of the avenues glide easily into

the geometrical form, and the tasteful yields to the useful planning, or rather follows out true taste, which is also gratified with that which is most useful and convenient and ceases to recognize that as tasteful which is not sustained by a reasonable motive. In thus falling into the plainer mode at the west and there is in respect to the whole ground produced a variety, that satisfies the observer that the whole work has been subject of care and study acting upon principles of artistic taste, whose highest success is to follow and embellish nature.¹⁹⁹

Not only does it appear that Eli K. Price had a firm belief in what principles of landscape design should be followed in developing the cemetery, he also demonstrated that he knew how to apply them. It is of further interest that he was using contemporary landscape design theory which he derived from John Claudius Loudon's writings, these representing the most current evolution of the English School.

Naturally, not all of the improvements at The Woodlands were influenced by 'artistic taste'. The Executive Committee did, nevertheless, take into consideration aesthetic sensitivity and utilitarian necessity. One of the most serviceable enhancements which contributed to the cemetery ground's appearance was an extensive drainage system which took several years to install. The ability to control water and rapidly divert it away from the areas devoted to interments was of paramount importance to any cemetery. Even the appearance of a moist area was to be prevented. People who were buying rural cemetery lots, in advance of need, would shy away from purchase if they detected water retentive soil.

Eli K. Price wrote that:

The dry gravel soil or micaceous sand so prevalent there [The Woodlands] and desiring to add a comfort to those who lie within it, may also be deemed a matter of fancy; yet are they not sufficient to determine the choice of those who are about to deposit the remains of a beloved friend or relative, and who would instinctively shrink from placing bodies, the objects of their affectionate care, in retentive clay, to be saturated with turbid water!¹⁵⁶

There can be little doubt that the revulsion to saturated soil stemmed from recollections of the dank and fetid conditions that had begun to develop in Philadelphia's urban churchyards and the recollection of how closely they resembled the offensive nature of condemned metropolitan cemeteries in France and England.

The first evidence, that measures were being taken to control water accumulation on the grounds at The Woodlands, appears in an entry made by Eli K. Price to the Executive Committee minute book. In December 1846, he noted that 'the men are engaged in digging and laying a drain seven feet deep east of Elm Avenue.'¹⁵⁷ Probably, as the Winter advanced and freezing conditions set in this arduous hand-excavation had to be suspended. Mr. Price's notes suggest this when in April of 1847, he commented on the same Elm Avenue drain:

The men have been chiefly employed in making deep drains in the ground east of Elm Avenue and thence along Elm and Magnolia Avenues, so as to prevent moisture settling in Sec. C. [one of the church allotments].¹⁵⁸

The intent, of course, was to direct water runoff along the

carriage routes just as was done along the more rectilinear city streets and to draw the water away from the grass and tree covered sections dedicated to burial lots.

Ten months went by before another drain was installed. This one, however, was not to channel rainfall or siphon off standing puddles. Instead, this underground conduit was for the purpose of burying a tributary of Middle Run, a stream on the northeast side of the cemetery. The pipe went from the spring's head to a point where the flow of water united with Middle Run and, when backfilled, created dry ground suitable for a walkway.¹³⁹

During the next two years other wet areas requiring remediation were identified and measures were taken to correct them. The most extensive additions to the subterranean channel system occurred during 1851 as Eli K. Price explained in a Report of the Managers to the Corporators:

The great and unusual quantity of rain last year [1850] saturated the ground with more than the usual quantity of water. This has called the attention of the Executive Committee to some points where further drainage may be required to remove the presence of water at all times, or even suspicion of it, as that proves injurious from the natural repugnance that exists against the presence or probability of water in the grave. The living instinctively carry to the grave or associate with the dead the sensibilities of life, and though we know to them it is of no importance, the feelings of the survivors require that these whom they bury should seem to lie in the comfort and security of dry soil. There are two points on which the Committee think drains shall be dug and one if not both they propose to have done during the present winter [1851].¹⁴⁰

No doubt this brief statement was meant to quell any objections the Corporators may have had for another cash outlay. It was a gentle reminder that even chance occurrences affect sales; it was better to eliminate a potential problem before it contributed to a far more costly loss.

As in most cases, the Executive Committee chaired by Mr. Price, had no apparent difficulty in convincing the Corporators of their sound judgement. In the year end Report of the Managers to the Stockholders for 1852, Eli K. Price stated that:

In the few moist places [The Woodlands Cemetery was] most easy of drainage by reason of rapid declension of the grounds in nearly all directions from the center. The Company has availed itself of this facility in making drains from all the points of moisture so far as the grounds have been laid out and it is believed with entire success. The Cemetery too has a general southern exposure, and the power of the sun will ever be operative to keep the soil dry and the air wholesome.¹⁶¹

He confirmed that the elaborate measures had proved effective by noting in the last Executive Committee Report for 1852 that "the drains heretofore dug have proved to be of value in making the grounds quite dry."¹⁶²

Even though much of the thrust behind the efforts to eliminate moist areas from the cemetery grounds appeared to be directed toward dispelling doubts about the burial of remains of a friend or family member, other considerations were equally weighty. The scientific and medical writings of the day pointed out that water in the grave slowed the natural

decomposition of bodies and that the 'exudation' over time tainted ground water and wells to the extent of being "injurious to the health of the individuals using it."¹⁶³ Furthermore, the slow decay of a body was not consistent with mid-19th century religious thinking which advocated "conformity [of the body] with the great and universal law of nature, and the ordinance of nature's God."¹⁶⁴ This was not solely a religious concept but, as John Elkinton, M.D., explained, one that was equated with the thoughts of a more civilized people and time:

The present more enlightened age of the world, consigns at once, earth, to its parent earth, after it has fulfilled the great designs of the Creator in an organized form.

The great purpose of a Cemetery is to remove from the view of such as remain in life, all those upon whom the world has forever closed; and that when the spirit has winged its flight to the God who gave it, the tenement may dissolve again into the dust from which it sprang.¹⁶⁵

So it was that the insistence on providing dry burial places was a concept bound together by hygienic and religious considerations along with progressive ideas.

The mere absence of water was, by no means, assurance that proper soil conditions existed which would further natural decay. Clay soils, for instance, were water retentive; therefore, they were considered unsuitable. Sand, "gravelly or chalky soils for cemeteries were advocated" since they allowed rapid percolation.¹⁶⁶ Eli K. Price took it upon

himself to find out what soils existed at The Woodlands. He wrote, on May 23, 1846, that he "spent the afternoon with an auger at The Woodlands" taking 20 samples from different locations. Only four core sites revealed clay and in two of those gravel was encountered just 3 feet deeper.¹⁶⁷ The remainder of the samples were described as either "yellow gravel, sharp dry gravel, a good dry sand, a dry yellow sand, mica sand, light mica sand, or from one spot, a pure white sand--looking like that used for fire brick."¹⁶⁸ Probably, he wanted to witness for himself the quality of the soil before he publicly printed the words "here, in a dry and gravelly soil, the decaying bodies of the dead may securely moulder with kindred dust."¹⁶⁹

The desirable dry soil types were also aerated permitting the rapid "escape of gaseous matter [to] soon intermix with the circumambient air, and become so vastly diluted that their injurious tendency is less potent."¹⁷⁰ This unconstrained flow of air, so vital to the dissipation of poisonous emanations could not be had within the cramped limits of the city with its buildings packed tightly into their gridiron arrangement. In this sense it was obvious that "the country [was] better adapted for interment than the narrow confines of a city."¹⁷¹

Only in the country could the salubriousness of the air be assured. The Woodlands, like most rural cemeteries promoted this idea as a powerful advantage not only for their

present times but for well into the future. Eli K. Price, in the 1852 Report of the Managers to the Corporators wrote that:

When surrounded by the city [The Woodlands'] ample space will secure free admission of abundant fresh air, purified by the water it has passed over, and the masses of breathing vegetation it has traversed, in reaching the dense population. But this consideration will ever impose upon us the duty of keeping the air pure by its free circulation and freedom from noxious effluvia. To effect this object, trees must not be too thick; burials must not be too much multiplied in any one spot; must be sufficiently deep; vaults discouraged, for the mother earth as well as her vegetable products, is great and constantly active purifier and absorbent of the product of putrefactions.¹⁷²

The passage, of course, echoes that generation's belief that trees would "absorb deleterious gases."¹⁷³ With the abundance of trees present in the countryside, the promise of healthful air in and around rural cemeteries was consequently guaranteed.

The promise, though, was only as good as the ability of men to husband the trees. Mr. Price gives a clear indication that salubrious air can only be maintained if the trees in the Cemetery were managed in a way that promotes air flow:

In the planting of a Cemetery a double caution is to be observed: If there are too few trees it will look too naked, exposed alike to the bleak winter and to the burning summer heats: But if too densely covered and shaded the free circulation of air will be obstructed, damp exhalations stagnate, and the soil be kept too moist. A medium is, therefore, to be observed; trees enough planted to make up a varied scenery, and afford a grateful shade, but not to cover what in a Park should be lawn, and in a Cemetery burial lots ornamented with shrubs and flowers; giving to the whole alternate light and

shade, with a clear sweep of pure air, for which the channel of the river will always afford a free passage.¹⁷⁴

The wholesome character of country air was not, then, simply an advantage that was to be capitalized upon by the institution; it was to be safeguarded for future generations who would share the borderland area of West Philadelphia with the Cemetery.

Throughout Mr. Price's notes and communications there runs a continuing thought for the future. In effect, Eli Kirk Price was exhibiting to a high degree the qualities of responsibility often articulated as "stewardship." He did not visualize the cemetery and its grounds as static. On the contrary, it was a dynamic place with change inevitable. His writings consistently evidence his realization that, although The Woodlands possessed a "mature growth of trees of many varieties which, singly and in masses, lend to the scenery and the grounds the most impressive effect," they could not be preserved indefinitely.¹⁷⁵ An excerpt that is typical of Eli K. Price's acknowledgement of time's passage and its effect on the landscape is encapsulated in a segment of an Annual Report where he wrote of improvements:

One change of this nature seems inevitable by time, and that is as our forest trees of great size shall verge toward decay they will have to be removed and replaced by those of much smaller growth that the railings and monuments may not be endangered when they shall, as they will, cover the grounds. If by that change the imposing effect of these lofty natives of the forest shall be lost, there will be derived a compensation in the perennial green of

the resinous trees that will be substituted, and from their diminished size a freer admission of air, and a greater openness of prospect, in a spot where prospects everywhere open to objects of beauty and interest.¹⁷⁶

This was not merely a recognition of change but a dynamic management plan at once sensitive to aesthetic considerations as well as to sound horticultural practice.

Tree culling and planting became a prime occupation of the Executive Committee with Eli K. Price serving as the sole director. He wrote about the landscape gardening theories and practices that guided his decisions at The Woodlands and since Price's convictions are found only in the unpublished documents, the entire portion relating to trees will be presented below. Without these materials no clear picture of his grasp of contemporary gardening theory can be acquired, and so the importance of Price's work in the annals of Philadelphia landscape history cannot be fully appreciated:

The next principal subject kept in view respects trees, a principle element in all beautiful landscape. Fine growths of these were found at The Woodlands: some covering the lawn as in parks, some in woods, in clumps, groups and singly. These are pleasingly varied and produce an impressive effect. The Committee have sacredly respected these ancient occupants of the soil, whether the self sown oaks of the forest, or the pines and firs brought from our mountains, or the rarer exotics; and have so cut the avenues and walks as to spare every one of material value, and to bring them into the view of visitors and to obtain their welcome shade. Yet there are considerations that must press themselves upon the minds of all in connection with these and the future uses of our Cemetery. Trees as well as men are mortal and in time must too mingle again with the earth whence they have sprung; and in proportion to size great and destructive may be

their fall among the costly tombs and enclosures of the dead. Whenever, therefore, danger is seen to impend, they must from time to time be removed. A few such, but with a sparing hand, have been removed by the Committee. To supply their places others must be planted; and also further planting of trees has become necessary where the avenues have struck through the open lawns, to afford the shade required by our heated summers. Hence it becomes a necessary care to consider the kind of trees most proper to be introduced, and their disposition in reference to their effect upon the landscape should always be the subject of careful attention. In view of the destruction that may be produced by the prostration of large trees those of small or middling growth should be favored. The more these are varied in kind the more will be the variety to please the taste of general observers and also to gratify the scientific research of the botanist. Thus the progress of planting may in time produce a material change in the wooded scenery of the place, unless, indeed, the proprietors of lots should by observing an humbler and more chastened taste avoid the construction of costly monuments and enclosures, which is not to be expected from the well known principles of human nature.

Let us consider for a moment what should be the appropriate Character of the Scenery of our Cemetery. Though varied in its surface into hill, valley and slopes, it is not so irregular as to call for what is called the picturesque style of improvement, where the effect depends upon intricacy and irregularity. Downing [page] 83. [Andrew Jackson Downing, Landscape Gardening: A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening]. It is rather the graceful order of improvement that we should observe, with our rounded hills covered with trees that give them greater apparent elevation. But so sparingly as to permit beneath a verdant sod, and road sides shaded with trees so distant as to allow to each ample space for the natural and most graceful development of its form. Yet not so disposed as to give formality and stiffness of appearance, but rather to follow the winding of the way with ease and grace. These scattering trees, as well as these that stand out singly on the lawn, will more or less connect the wooded hills, yet with occasional breaks so as to keep open the vistas from the center elevations of ground, to the water, and other distant prospects.

The kind of trees that will best preserve such connection between separated masses of foliage of varying character, so as to avoid harsh transitions, will require nice observation and care, and sometimes to attain these objects, removal of planted trees will be requisite as their increasing size may show the necessity of it.¹⁷⁷

Mr. Price, without question, was duly impressed with what remained of William Hamilton's plantings, sought to retain as much as possible, but knew that the more public use of the grounds would alter the more private individualized character of the old garden. Yet, it is important to note, he understood the ground's importance as a continuing center for erudite botanical study, and Price appeared committed to enhancing its value as an arboretum.

Almost as quickly as the principal avenues began to be cut, graded and graveled; tree planting began as well. Eli K. Price noted on May 5, 1845, that:

Four Balm of Gilead [an ornamental poplar] trees have been this day planted within the gate; the largest pair upwards of 20 feet high were procured of Col. Carr--at Bartram's Garden; the others from Miss [S. E.] Wilde Sch[uylkill] Front & Vine Sts.¹⁷⁸

Balm-of-Gilead Poplar [*Populus Balsamifera*] was one of the tree species associated with resting places of the dead and which John Claudius Loudon included in his list of trees adapted for cemeteries and churchyards.¹⁷⁹ Notable for its large size and fragrant flowers, its resinous buds were also used in home remedies. All trees were chosen, it seems, for their associational, ornamental, and utilitarian value.¹⁸⁰

The Woodlands Cemetery Company did not just think about the value of trees within the Cemetery's boundaries; they saw an avenue of trees stretching from their gateway to beyond Chestnut Street as one of the improvements, concurrent with the grading of Woodland Street which was necessary to attract patrons and visitors. Of course, the Executive Committee felt they could combine their interests with those of the other institution occupying what had been part of William Hamilton's old plantation. On July 4, 1845, Eli K. Price sent a letter on behalf of the Executive Committee to the Guardians of the Poor of Philadelphia County:

Your neighbors to the west and like you having an object under our care of public interest and utility we have witnessed your various improvements with gratification and interest--there is another that may have occurred to you to be executed in its due time that we ask leave to suggest to your consideration. It is our intention as soon as our affairs are further advanced to promote the grading and improvement of Darby Road or Woodland Street--a part of such improvement should be the grading of the footways and the planting of Trees within the curb line. This on account of the fences which in some places be disturbed would be better preformed by the owners of the adjoining ground. We have thought that you would be willing to set the example and if you should do so we will engage not to cease in our efforts until the footways shall be graded and planted with trees, making good shaded walks and avenues of trees as far as The Woodlands. Such an improvement we think cannot but meet your approbation both as an object of taste and utility.¹⁰¹

It is evident that the intent was to have a tree lined avenue and walkway all the way to Market Street along Woodlands Street. Eli K. Price approached the owners of the next old

Hamilton estate parcel, northeast of the Almshouse property, in attempts to induce their participation. Mr. Price's entry of October 27, 1845, indicated success. "Edward S. Burd, Esq. has authorized [me] to plant trees in front of his lot beyond Chestnut Street."¹⁸² By forming a joint venture with the other property owners along Woodland Street, the Cemetery Company had virtually assured themselves of a thoroughfare from the city's western edge, a thoroughfare which was uniform in appearance. In effect, they had cleverly subsumed a township corridor into the cemetery's circulation pattern and made it an attraction.

Once the arrangements for planting the public roadway were secured, the Executive Committee stepped up the planting program within the cemetery's boundaries. On November 15, 1845, cedar trees were planted:

Near the junction of Elm & Schuylkill Avenues, the purpose of which was besides the immediate ornament, to interpose a screen between the house and mud [flats] when the water [the Schuylkill] is at a low water mark. Also planted Cedars on Cedar Avenue.¹⁸³

On November 21st and 28th, Eli K. Price noted that the "afternoons had been occupied in planting trees."¹⁸⁴

Some Maples have been planted on Maple Avenue near the bridge. Cedars on Cedar Avenue, and as a screen for the wall west of the Lodges: Dogwoods on the south of the Entrance of Schuylkill Avenue, and Catalpas on the north side thereof.¹⁸⁵

There was an obvious effort to plant trees in proximity to avenues bearing their names, further reinforcing the

cemetery's sylvan appeal.

Naming roadways and paths for well known plants and trees was almost uniformly practiced by rural cemetery companies but in the case of The Woodlands, the names were not applied arbitrarily. In every instance where an avenue bore the name of a tree, that species was located nearby; either it had been placed by William Hamilton or it existed in natural groves. At The Woodlands, unlike at other cemeteries, if a particular species of specimen quality did not thrive near an avenue then it was not named for any species. In those instances, the carriage ways were named for their association with other landscape or architectural features. (i.e. Mansion Avenue, West Gate Avenue, Center Circle Avenue, South Circle Avenue, Vault Avenue, Ridge Avenue, Valley Avenue, Beach Avenue, Lake Avenue, Fountain Avenue and Schuylkill Avenue)¹⁸⁶ The reason that over two-thirds of the avenues at The Woodlands carried names of features instead of trees was due to the Cemetery's possession of "fine growths--pleasingly varied."¹⁸⁷ Whereas other rural cemeteries had to enhance their arboreal attraction by associational devices, The Woodlands Cemetery needed little else to rely on than the flourishing splendor of the old garden from which it was formed and from which it took its name.

As Eli K. Price pointed out, however, some of the old trees which at one time had given superb sylvan character to

Hamilton's garden "had begun to decay and ceased to be ornamental."¹⁸⁸ It was, therefore, required to have them:

cut down and removed, and young and thrifty ones of several varieties, in greater number planted to supply the places of those which were felled.¹⁸⁹

The removals were rapidly accomplished so that by the spring of 1846, the Executive Committee was able to begin replenishing with saplings and trees of larger caliper.

Eli K. Price's entries in the Executive Committee's Minute Book starting on April 7, 1846, and continuing into May 1, 1846, fully document how extensive the replanting program was. A notation of April 7, 1846, read:

The Executive Committee have purchased of John Turner upwards of three hundred trees for one share in the Cemetery, of which 164 are Balm of Gileads, which have mostly been planted and add much to the ornament of the grounds. He has the same quantity left which he is willing to part with on the same terms if the Board think it proper to extend the planting over the whole ground, and have trees growing, as to produce the best effect as the avenues shall be gravelled and opened. A screen of ever green trees is wanted on the East side to shut out the glaring appearance of the Almshouse. Pines are the best for this object, and they can be had from the woods.¹⁹⁰

Aside from the preference for ornamental poplar as a tree for general use throughout the cemetery, there appears to have been little emphasis on any other variety except for evergreens. The reference that a view was to be screened by pines was the third time evergreens had been employed to shut out an offending sight. Two prior references noted that cedars were used to conceal mud flats and a wall, no doubt

because of their unsightliness. Perhaps the most amazing quantity of purchased trees appeared in the Executive Committee entries for April 17 and May 1, 1846. The April 17th entry read that:

Instead of taking more trees of J. Turner the Committee have purchased a lot of Mr. Levy--containing about 1000 trees & shrubs--for \$32.42--many of which have been planted, so as to indicate the course of all the avenues, and afford them shade and ornament; the rest are put into the Company's nursery. Also bought two large Pyrus Japonica of Sherwood at \$1.50 each, and twenty one balms & four pines, of large size in New Jersey, with good balls of earth,--for \$2 each.¹⁹¹

The May 1st entry read:

Agreed to take of [Patrick] Kereven about 1000 trees nearly all Evergreens,--Balms,--Norway Pines, Cypress, Hemlock &c. which came on a raft on the Delaware.¹⁹²

The two purchases alone are prodigious in quantity but added to even more purchases made through the spring of 1848, the amount of trees & shrubs is staggering considering that the grounds were already landscaped with mature growths.

Eli K. Price noted two additional planting efforts in 1846. On April 18th:

Bought at Freeman's [nursery] about 40 imported shrubs--to be planted near the Lodges--say \$2.50 and two Cherokee Poplars--\$2.00 of Kereven.¹⁹³

These shrubs, perhaps, were meant to continue the "borders of the Avenue at the entrance [which] John Cochran, the tenant at the lodge, [had] begun in very good taste."¹⁹⁴ The second planting, in 1846, was noted to have occurred during November.

There is no indication of a supplier, simply the statement that "twenty five more Balm of Gilead trees have been planted,--and some cedars."¹⁹⁵

Planting resumed once more in the spring of 1847. On April 10th, Mr. Price indicated that he had:

been engaged in planting 100 Silver Pine trees obtained the previous day from the forest.¹⁹⁶

The Executive Committee entry for April 28th stated that:

have planted 10 Elms, 1 Pine near gate, two Spruce Firs, 1 Balm of Gilead, ten English Ash, two Weeping Ash, two White Birch, and three Copper Beeches, procured from [the] place of Marmaduke Cope--cost \$19.75--and also 1 Laburnum--and twelve Cypress trees, procured from Landreth's [nursery]--cost \$10.¹⁹⁷

The spring 1847 planting season appeared to conclude on May 31st when Eli K. Price noted that:

Though the months of April and May have been unusually dry the trees we have planted the present and this last year generally promise to do well, and already produce a pleasing effect. The nursery of small trees and cuttings have also received the proper attention. Seeds of the Sugar Maple furnished by Isaac Hazelhurst Esq. from his father's place at Mount Holley, and of the American Linden from the Independence Square; and the English Sycamore from The Woodlands have been planted.¹⁹⁸

The mixture of evergreen, ornamental deciduous, and fastigate deciduous trees would have produced groupings at once pleasing to the eye when in bloom, and also soothing to the soul when the rich dark foliage of the evergreens predominated.

Evergreen, needle-leaved trees were preferred in rural cemeteries for some very utilitarian reasons. Unlike

deciduous trees, they did not drop their leaves to clutter the sward. With raking reduced, cemetery workmen could be employed at other worthwhile tasks throughout the ground. The narrow conical shapes of these trees, particularly "the common cypress, the Irish yew, the Swedish juniper, the fastigate arbor vitae &c." interfered less with the performance of funerals.¹⁹⁹ They also did not shade the grounds as a deciduous tree would and therefore admitted "the drying influence of the sun [and] a free current of air" which were required to dissipate injurious exhalations and maintain salubrity.²⁰⁰

Besides the practical reasons for cemeteries to favor evergreens there were other considerations which at the time may have been of more importance. J. C. Loudon maintained that trees aided instruction in "landscape-gardening, arboriculture, botany, and in those important parts of general gardening, neatness, order, and high keeping."²⁰¹ He also pointed out that, "by associations both ancient and modern, [evergreens] are particularly adapted for cemeteries."²⁰² There were also the classical and popular association of evergreens, particularly cedars, with places of sepulture which were so appealing to The Woodlands Executive Committee. It was not surprising as their purchases intensified to find the great majority of trees to be either evergreen or fastigate.

Again, in the spring of 1848, a similar mix of trees were

purchased and planted:

March 30--purchased at Landreth's for planting in The Woodlands 10 Balm of Gilead, 10 Chinese arborvitae, 5 [placata?], 5 silver pine, 5 ditto, 5 hemlock spruce, 5 paulownia imperialis, 6 ashleaved maple, 5 platanus orientalis, 5 flowering cherry, 5 cypress and 5 American arborvitae: cost \$30.

April 8th--purchased 106 trees of Wm. Carvill for \$55--one half to be in payment of this years rent [of the Greenhouse]. They are large growth consisting of silver poplars, varieties of horse chestnut; dark & light Sugar maples, silver and ash leaved maples, English and Turkey oaks, American and English Lindens &c.

April 10th--also purchased of Col. Carr [Bartrams] a lot of shrubbery consisting of a considerable variety--and a few trees.

[April] 12--purchased residue of W. Carvill's assortment of ornamental trees, consisting of over one hundred for twenty dollars. Besides the purchased trees many shrubs from near the Old English walk have been distributed over the ground.²⁰³

The sequence of entries was ended with a notation by Eli K.

Price which indicated that:

The supply of trees is now as large as will be wanted, except to increase the variety by occasional purchases, and some evergreens to shut out the view of the Almshouse.²⁰⁴

Even though this entry was probably made after careful study of the grounds and after inventory of the Company's nursery took place, there continued to be occasions warranting the acceptance of more plant materials.

On November 1, 1848, Mr. Price recorded that he:

Rec'd. a cart load of boxtrees about a foot high, a present from my cousin [Margaret] Malin, of the Great Valley, Chester County.²⁰⁵

By the spring of 1849, there was still a small deficiency and:

shrubbery, mostly got of Col. Carr [was used in] extending the borders along Mansion Avenue, from the turn near the Lodges to beyond the bridge.²⁰⁶

On May 15, 1849, almost appearing to punctuate the past four years of planting activity:

two English silver firs [were] planted one east of the house, and one south of the Porter Monument.²⁰⁷ These were trees sent to Eli K. Price by Morris & Stokes who were repaying an indebtedness which is expressed in their letter, dated May 14, 1849.

Esteemed Friend:

We drop a line to say that we propose sending tomorrow morning two European silver firs, *Picea Pectinata*, in exchange for the three mossycup oaks, obtained last fall from your Woodlands Cemetery.²⁰⁸

By November 1849, the great flurry of purchasing and planting seemed to subside dramatically. Instead of more purchases, it appeared that future trees would be self supplied. The sole entry made by Eli K. Price, in November 1849, stated that:

Robt. [Devine, the Superintendent,] has been planting the trees from our nursery over the grounds and removing others according to the preceding instructions.²⁰⁹

From this date on, with one exception in 1854, the only entries relating to trees chronicle the continuance of border planting, "trimming the dead & superfluous limbs, [or] removing dead trees."²¹⁰

In the span of four years, from 1845 through 1849, over

2,500 trees and shrubs had been acquired and planted by the Executive Committee. Such an enormous quantity rivaled the amount William Hamilton had imported from Europe some sixty years prior. Added to the groves, clumps, and borders remaining from Hamilton's time, the Cemetery's plantings must have begun to create the appearance of an 80 acre wooded thicket. In fact, by the end of 1852, Eli K. Price reported that:

The trees planted since the cemetery was laid out have generally grown well, and some so rapidly as to indicate that in some places they are too closely planted, and require to be dispersed.²¹¹

While the Executive Committee had "planted too thickly, requiring some [trees] to be removed," they had been much more reserved about the introduction of flowers and perennial herbaceous plants.²¹² In truth, these understory plantings had been very meager. On May 5, 1845, Eli K. Price noted that "the porch [of the mansion was] planted round with running roses."²¹³ On July 1, 1845, it was recorded that:

Mr. Carvill has planted Dahlias on both sides of the Portico of the Mansion;--one bed in the circle in front, and another is to be planted towards the west gate.²¹⁴

The only other direct reference to flowering plants is an Executive Committee Minute Book entry made by Eli K. Price on May 9, 1848. He wrote that he "planted three Irises at the Mansion and three round the receiving vault."²¹⁵

The dearth of references to flowers is perhaps

understandable considering that the Executive Committee expected William Carvill to make the grounds leased to him "ornamental and attractive by cultivating flowers."²¹⁶ It was undoubtedly expected that Mr. Carvill would exceed these requirements since the company also allowed him "to plant with flowers and shrubs parts of the ground undisposed of for his own profit."²¹⁷ In other words William Carvill, a "Nurseryman and Florist," was free to use any part of The Woodlands for planting his stock until such time as the land was sold as lots. Even then the "board [would] recommend the employment of Mr. Carvill to ornament the [lot holder's] grounds."²¹⁸

Beyond this reasoning, was the undeniable reluctance of the Corporators to impose their taste when it was understood that each lot holder had their own preference for planting. Eli K. Price wrote with empathy about lot holder's gardening inclinations and how the broader landscape considerations of the cemetery could be reconciled with them:

There is also another subject of very interesting consideration and care in respect to planting a Cemetery, entirely different from all other landscape gardening, and requiring much circumspection. While a Cemetery of eighty acres will contain in its general features landscapes of varied character, and united with the external views on a grand scale and of magnificent effect, in the detail of the improvements there is a descent to the minutia of gardening in the smallest scale. The thousands of lot holders may have respectively [bought] their lot of 10 by 16 feet in which their interest and feelings are chiefly centered, and with devoted affection for the dead, erect a costly monument, and enclosure, and cultivate it according to their own taste with assiduous care. It becomes a garden on the smallest scale blooming with

flowers. Thus we have the grand and imposing and the diminutively beautiful, blended; with every intermediate scale of enclosure and vegetable growths planted to please the infinitely varying tastes of the lot owners. How then are these extremes, never before so united in landscape gardening, to be blended with harmonious effect; and how shall those exercising the paramount power of the Company correct the incongruities produced by the planting of dissimilar tastes? in the cultivations of flowers and shrubs that do not rise to a height to vary the landscape or obscure the prospects the lot holders should be left to consult their own tastes. When trees are planted by them care will become necessary on the part of the company. A word of advice may be taken, and all difficulty avoided; or if they prefer planting trees stiffly as in the four angles of their lot, its effect may be diminished by planting at a short distance irregularly so as to throw the whole into an irregular group, and thus formality destroyed. The Company have reserved the power of removal of trees improperly planted, but will prudently avoid collisions, whenever they find an alternative remedy, or can succeed by persuasion or conviction.

This unusual combination of different characters of improvements and planting may it is hoped be of pleasing effect: the larger trees may be gradually harmonized with the smaller--by intermediate planting, making the transition as to size as well as in colour and other characteristics easy and varied until they sink to the shrub and flower on the lawn: or the shrub and the flower may be found directly beneath the aspiring tree as an undergrowths, whose protecting shade may not be uncongenial in our burning climate: and this we find to be an arrangement of nature even in our more densely shaded forests, where the honeysuckle and countless shrubs and flowers deck the earth. Thus will our Cemetery only become the more enriched and pleasing, and fruitful for the study of the naturalist, by the combinations of distinctive styles of gardening, where from the contemplation of single plants, and beds of flowers, the spectator has only to raise his eyes and view the over arching forest trees and park scenery blending in harmonious beauty with the external river, fields, woods, and distant hills.²¹⁹

To Eli K. Price, flowers and shrubs which inevitably would be planted by the lot holders beneath the canopy trees could be justified since, in the "shaded forest," such intermingling of plant hierarchies occurred quite naturally.

In fact, in the Cemetery there was precedent for what could be considered a combination of the "gardenesque" and the "picturesque" approach to gardening. William Hamilton had practiced it at The Woodlands before Humphry Repton verbalized it. In 1788, Hamilton's gravel walks were bordered with "curious flowers and sweet shrubs," exotic specimen plants were spread across the north lawn and wild grapes formed shaded arbors.²²⁰ Therefore it was perfectly acceptable, indeed desirable, that sixty years later:

all the individual lots [on the old pleasure ground would] be ornamented as small garden spots to preserve the park like appearance of the whole.²²¹

Besides the more humble evergreens and flowers that will carpet and bespangle the grounds, as they shall be produced by the culture of the devoted and sacred affection of surviving friends, will add a new feature to the scene, both pleasing to the eye and grateful to the heart, in their moral and religious associations.²²²

As the sale of lots increased at The Woodlands, owners and their families truly lavished attention on their individual parcels much as had been predicted. In the Annual Report of the Managers to the Corporators of The Woodlands Cemetery Company for 1853, Eli K. Price wrote that:

Many lot holders have at large expense with good taste enclosed their burial places, decorated them, and erected monuments to the memory of their dead.²²³

Frequently the central family monument was erected ante mortem with worked stone or cast iron fences marking the lot's boundary. Curb stones and stone steps were often engraved with the family name. Careful plantings were added within the enclosure. All these embellishments, repeated from lot to adjoining lot, soon took on the appearance of a miniature neighborhood of suburban, middle-class family properties. (Figure 49 and 50).

In many ways the cemetery lot was an investment in the future sacred places, another type of country estate, "a second residence to which [generations of the same family] could move after death."²²⁴ Certainly The Woodlands treated the lots as real estate by issuing deeds for the individual parcels which were "recorded in the office for recording deeds &c. for the City and County of Philadelphia."²²⁵ (Appendix V). Possession of a cemetery lot, moreover, was a superior land holding since it could not be taxed, nor could it be seized to pay off a debt.²²⁶ In addition, a portion of the purchase price was "applied for the improvement and perpetual maintenance" of the cemetery, thus insuring that the suburban community of the dead would always be kept presentable.²²⁷ The cemetery lot then, provided the family with a place of final repose in perpetuity with the promise that the Christian home would be kept intact, the household "awaiting together the morning of the Resurrection."²²⁸

The family lot in rural cemeteries, like its counterpart, the family home in the borderlands of the metropolis, were sacred institutions in the 19th century.²²⁹ As such they were seen as religious, emotional, and physical sanctuaries. Therefore, it was not surprising to find the owners of these permanent residences "indulging their taste and indicating their refinement in the preparation of their burial places."²³⁰ It was no wonder, either, why a family's leisure time devoted to edification was sometimes spent in the rural cemetery just as they spent leisure hours socializing in the landscaped grounds of their suburban home. It was in both, domestic and sacred enclosures, that the values of rural simplicity and virtue were objectified. In both, refuge from complicated urban life and shelter from urban ills could be found.

For those who had laid to rest a beloved friend or relative, a visit to the cemetery became more than simply a journey to one's permanent abode; it came to be viewed as a metaphorical pilgrimage. While it was a reminder to the living of the transience of life, wandering to the grave site through pleasant woods and over green turf occasionally decked with beautiful flowers, kindled hope for a new birth and life beyond the grave.

The "contemplative absorption in the idea of mortality" and the Christian promise of spiritual resurrection amid the sacred stillness of nature's beauty was believed to improve

the "moral sentiments and general taste of all classes and more especially the great masses of society."²³¹ So, it was not only the bereaved who were expected to experience the rise of mixed emotions bordering on "melancholy pleasure," but it was a feeling to be experienced by the urban visitor as well.²³² The rural cemetery, technically a private institution, nonetheless served the tourist and the urbanite as an associational garden for contemplative recreation.

The pleasant, pastoral cemeteries thus became bright oases where the terror of death was dissolved by nature's consolations. The "moralized" landscapes of the dead were the consciously designed retreats for the living. They were sacred resorts and "didactic landscapes whose scenery and monuments instructed visitors in morality and respect for the dead."²³³ (Figure 51 and 52).

Those responsible for the formation of these institutions and moralists who supported them all urged visitors to learn from the lives of those interred. By reading the inscriptions commemorating those who had "rid themselves of time and exchanged it for eternity" the visitor might be sobered by the thoughts of the shortness of life and think more earnestly of its higher purposes.²³⁴ Thus as the park like cemeteries, once nearly empty of graves and funerary architecture, became ornamented with neoclassical stone monuments erected to the memory of exemplary or notable individuals, the popularity of

the commemorative gardens multiplied. In 1849, Eli K. Price reported to the Corporators that The Woodlands Cemetery could expect this heightened public interest as years progressed:

There is yet another fancy or sentiment that will ever act upon the hearts of mankind directing them with a more intense interest to this residence of the dead as time shall advance: it is the historic interest that it will acquire by the inhabitation within it of the illustrious dead of those whose moral traits of character or peculiar misfortunes excite the interest of the living world still more deeply. The more it shall become peopled with the dead attractive of character the more it will become to the imagination of these a 'spirit land' where the spirits of the departed will seem to be near and them to visit while living and to sleep by them when they die.²³⁹

Mr. Price, it appears, was not just speaking of the present day visitors who would find notable interments captivating to the imagination but of the future generations who might be won to virtue by pondering the inscriptions incised on the stone architecture of the dead. (Figure 53 and 54).

Two years later, in the Managers Annual Report to the Corporators, Eli K. Price made a more direct reference to The Woodlands and its commemorative stones serving as chronicles.

The annual reports made by the Board of Managers to the Corporators contain the history of the progress of the Cemetery, and the materials for future reference when its importance shall demand a publication as an object of deep interest in connection with the history of Philadelphia. The time will come when many citizens whose services will have been identified with public affairs of our community will there lie, and their monuments become historical records. The materials will hereafter be there sought not only for biography and history but the painter will be called in requisition to sketch objects of the richest artistic skill, with the objects of nature in which

they are set ever pleasing to the eye and grateful to the heart. The engraver will take up the work of the sculptor and the painter, and at the same time give permanence in another shape and scatter them widely as gems of art.²³⁶ [Figure 55 and 56].

There can be little doubt that Mr. Price felt that The Woodland Cemetery and its monumental decorations would one day convincingly bear witness to Philadelphia's progress in civilization and in the arts. Hence, The Woodlands Cemetery was not a place of the past; it was a landscape of the future whose botanical riches would cultivate the intellect, whose scenes, united with splendid Romantic architecture, would improve morals and taste, and whose classical monuments would serve as historical records for generations to come.

The Woodlands Cemetery Company, in fact, actively participated in the funding of monuments to the memory of notable individuals, particularly those that served in the military. In 1847, Commodore Porter's son, slain in the "Mexican War on the Rio Grande" was laid to rest beside his father and a cash payment of three hundred and fifty dollars was pledged, by the Company, toward the commemorative monument that had been "erected on the ground according to contract."²³⁷ Since it was one of the first memorials, the Executive Committee was anxious for visitors to study it closely. Eli K. Price wrote that he recommended:

The foot walks be cut out and gravelled round the Porter lot, that a ready access may be had and sufficiently near to read the inscription.²³⁸

In 1866, a "subscription of \$100 dollars by the Company to the monument to Capt. Courtland Saunders was authorized. Other graves of those "killed in the rebellion [Civil War]" were ornamented with the assistance of like contributions.²³⁹ An article, in the Ledger, largely devoted to those who had fallen on the fields of battle and were subsequently buried at The Woodlands, stated that:

one spot was assigned early in the war for private soldiers, and 120 of these are interred with neat head-stones to mark their names and regiments.²⁴⁰

The Managers' Minutes of December 12, 1861, stated that The Woodland Cemetery Company tendered:

the right of interment free of charge for the ground for all soldiers who may die [and] whose remains may not be taken charge of by their family or friends.²⁴¹

From later transcriptions it appeared that the Company, in making this gesture, was seeking to enhance its civic and philanthropic image. The Manager's Minutes of February 4, 1868, noted that:

the Company declined to make a Deed in fee for the said ground in their cemetery where the U. S. Soldiers are buried, and preferred some plan of improvement that shall confer more credit upon the Cemetery than that proposed by the government, and that they have confidence that the Citizens will erect such improvement in Commemoration of the services of the loyal soldiers as they deserve: and in such work the managers of The Woodlands Cemetery will cheerfully cooperate.²⁴²

The public's perception of improvements within the cemetery, particularly the monuments and the ornamentation of the grounds, were of particular concern to the Corporators of

the cemetery. Two of the original "By-laws and regulations" specifically noted the control that the company could exercise in maintaining an appearance they believed to be appropriate for the magnificent funerary garden:

II The holders of the burial lots may ornament their plots with flowers and shrubbery and enclose the same with chain or iron railing not to exceed in height four feet but shall not remove or plant any trees or make any monument or erection to exceed the height of five feet without the express permission of the managers in writing and attested by the secretary.

XVII No monument, construction or inscription offensive to decency or propriety shall be placed upon any lot, and if so placed may be removed by the managers.²⁴³

Obviously, with the impact that the Managers believed the garden cemetery and its monumental decorations would have on public morals, they were obligated to be attentive and circumspect in all areas of improvement.

A very strict enforcement of cemetery policies and care had to be practiced during the early years of The Woodlands Cemetery since any memorial stone or adornment drew immediate attention and scrutiny within the park-like setting that was nearly devoid of graves and grave markers. Even twenty-five years after the first interment it was remarked that:

unlike most cemeteries, the visitor is not at the entrance confronted with mortuary decorations, or even the indications of a grave-yard. On the contrary, the road winds for some distance through a vista of gigantic trees and carefully decorated sward until the center of the enclosure is reached and we are 'down among the dead'. It may be stated that at the outset the company 'made haste slowly' and the receipts were carefully expended upon

permanent improvements rather than upon appearances for lot seekers to come forward. The result is seen in the present beautiful condition of the cemetery, which will compare favorably with any other in the city in regard to character, extent and designs of the monuments.²⁴⁴

Even as the Cemetery's first sections of interments, which were located in the centermost portion of the grounds, exhibited concentrations of sculptural tokens to the memory of the departed, the Managers could not relax their regulating powers. In the Annual Report of Managers to the Corporators for the year of 1851, Eli K. Price suggests that there needed to be continued application of restraint upon the lot holders if the improvements were not to jeopardize the sanctity and natural beauty of the Cemetery:

More than the average progress of previous years has been made in enclosing private burial lots, and in the erection of monuments; and portions of the grounds present the appearance of being pretty thickly peopled with the dead. The social and gregarious feelings of man seem to exist after life is extinct; and the residences of the dead seem to become less cold and repulsive as they draw into closer contiguity; and with the increase of their tenants the more sacred and consecrated become the grounds and the scene devoted to their final repose. As the 'City of the Dead' shall become more and more laid out and built up, and the graves beneath shall be multiplied, then too will survivors become more and more interested, and spots hallowed by the sacred memories of the departed, will be cared for and embellished as prompted by a devoted affection. It is thus that the object of our care and protection acquires an interest transcending the consideration of pecuniary profit; and it will hereafter, as our Cemetery attains its destined development, become a source of congratulation to all who have aided, that they have participated in rescuing from destruction the most beautiful feature in the scenery round Philadelphia, consecrated it to the repose of the dead, and brought it by

successive acts of improvement, to be the most perfect, both as respects convenience and impressive beauty of any in the world. None now surpasses it, and we who are engaged in its care and study, see great progress to be made in the future. To accomplish and preserve, however, this highest improvement, it must ever be kept in mind, that the Managers must reserve and exercise a paramount control as to all interference that may mar its scenery. The owners of their little plots naturally look only to them, and for shade, or as an object of special regard for departed friends, may plant trees that in a few years will close up the most beautiful vistas or sheets of water, and in time an effective scenery be lost and buried in a wooded thicket. It requires care to explain to lot holders in a way to conciliate their feelings and judgement; but the Managers should be firm, otherwise a great purpose of taste and beauty will be gradually but certainly overruled.²⁴⁵ [Figure 57 and 58].

Once more, Eli K. Price revealed that in his mind conservation of the site's natural advantages took precedence over all other considerations. Although the individual memorials and the decoration and ornament of the grave were to be considered as refined additions to the grounds, they had to be regarded as subservient to the unified appearance of the whole which was to be held in trust for future generations' gratification and instruction.

The Woodlands Cemetery Company was itself obliged to follow cautions when considering improvements. After all the Corporators held The Woodlands in pledge with solemn commitments to preserve this "matchless place."²⁴⁶ "In all they do the company is careful to keep in view the original character of the scenery."²⁴⁷

It is one of the most romantic rural spots within many miles of Philadelphia, and the eighty acres of

ground included within the cemetery enclosure has been well named 'The Woodlands'. The sturdy oaks, tall and tapering poplars, and almost every variety of tree in great profusion have attracted the attention of all interested in this subject. There are numerous trees here that have no duplicate in the United States outside this Cemetery. The property originally belonged to William Hamilton, a well-known Philadelphian, who, soon after the Revolution, erected upon the ground a splendid stone mansion, which has withstood the ravages of time until the present day, and is now one of the interesting features of the cemetery.²⁴⁸ [Figure 59 and 60].

It was therefore an ensemble of highest quality, a combination of the works of man and of nature, which the Corporators of The Woodlands Cemetery Company "sacredly preserved" and solicitously and tastefully sought to perfect for those who were to come after them.²⁴⁹

Between the years of 1847 and 1856, the Cemetery Company as guided by the advice of the Executive Committee devoted "considerable attention to the improvements of this cemetery."²⁵⁰ Improvements, however, did not necessarily imply great expenditures. As a matter of fact, Eli K. Price advocated thrift and restraint:

Nor need this require great expense to the Company: a few varieties of trees added each year, may be as cheaply placed to produce a good effect as otherwise. The simplicity of the Mansion and Lodges, and planting will be a distinguishing attraction of The Woodlands, and it is hoped the owners of lots may be governed by a similar taste. Loudon (page 102) [The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion, 1836] After long familiarity with the splendid parks and gardens of Europe declares that 'the extent of the operations, and the sums lavished are not by any means necessarily connected with successful and pleasing results. The man of correct taste will, by the aid of very limited

means, be able to afford the mind more true pleasure, than the improver who lavishes thousands without it, creating no other emotion than surprise or pity at the useless expenditure incurred'; and the Abbe [Jacques] Delille says nothing more true than that 'this noble employment requires an artist who thinks, Prodigious of Genius, but not of Expense'.²⁹¹

Plainly, William Hamilton's "parke" offered one of the best opportunities for the implementation of an improvement plan based on economy. As much was expressed by Mr. Price in an Annual Report to the Corporators in which he said:

Though the cost of the ground was originally high the material and surface were such as demanded comparatively small additional expense in its preparation for the intended use. It was not required from the Hand of Art to cause woods to vanish, hills subside, and valleys rise; and avenues pursue the track of its directing wand,--but winding the avenues over and along the hills and vales as nature formed them, we find the scene to possess a grace no act or cost could give.

The lofty oaks and silver pines, and rare exotics, planted or formed by the Hand of Science and Taste, had long before become groves of unrivalled beauty, requiring no further care but to remove those about to crumble by decay.²⁹²

Other improvements, however, certainly necessitated closer observation and higher levels of funding than those associated with landscape elements. In 1849, Eli K. Price reported to the Corporators that:

The mansion which was dilapidated to an extent to be almost ruinous when the Cemetery Company began this improvement was a few years since well roofed with cedar; the north projections were removed and the portico repaired. Since and chiefly during the past year the exterior of the walls were yellow washed, the woodwork painted on the outside, the sashes of the old windows replaced with new and freshly glazed. The whole exterior is now in good

repair, proof against the weather and of creditable appearance.²⁵³

Removal of the north projections to the house was not a small venture nor was it one that could have begun before careful deliberation. These, in fact, were vestibule pavilions that William Hamilton had added and certainly would have been designed and built as "balancing" appendages.²⁵⁴

1849 was also the year that one of the first improvements underwritten by the Cemetery Company began to bring disappointment and actually detract from the ground's appearance. Mr. Price reported to the Corporators that:

the entrance has been improved by continuing the side borders and planting beyond the bridge and in the spring it is proposed to continue these beds for shrubbery forth towards the Mansion; and also along the western side of the West Gate Avenue. This will in some degree make up the deficiency on the part of the tenant of the Garden, and mask the weeds and rubbish he suffers to disfigure his grounds. With the occupant permitted to remain by the assignee of the lease the Managers have had much cause of complaint, in consequence of his failure to ornament the leased premises and make the same attractive to visitors and promote the mutual objects of both parties there unto. In consequence of his interference in planting without the supervision and consent of the Superintendent the latter on two occasions removed him from the grounds of the cemetery, which led to complaint of the party removed to prosecution in the Quarter Sessions. In both instances Judge Parsons sustained the authority of the Superintendent to the exclusive control of the grounds, under the appointment and direction of the Managers, without which there could be no security for the lot holders or the company in carrying on their improvements and preserving the peace.²⁵⁵

What had held such promise as an attraction within the

Cemetery in 1844, brought dashed hopes and vexation by the end of 1849.

Actually, from this point in time, the garden and greenhouse started to slide more precipitously toward total abandon and eventual destruction. In the 1854 Annual Report to the Corporators, Eli K. Price commented that:

The Company have acquired the possession of the lease of the premises on the west end of The Woodlands estate, W. Moore having purchased the same and assigned it to this Company on liberal terms. This has enabled the Executive Committee to demolish the old hot house and conservatory, and to erect in its place very spacious octagonal sheds for the protection of horses and carriages. By means of this change a much better drainage of the surface of the grounds north of the house has been affected by making the grade of the avenues more rapid and carrying a discharge of water between the sheds towards its exit and natural discharge.²⁵⁶

Demolition of the greenhouse complex and building an octagonal carriage shed that enclosed 25,200 square feet was an immense construction project that, too, must have required a substantial capital outlay.

The decision to destroy William Hamilton's "hot house and conservatory" had to be one made after careful thought and with some reluctance. The alteration of the grade for natural discharge of water was an obliteration of a segment of Hamilton's walk that ascended from Mill Creek to the greenhouse. Although some nostalgia may have been associated with its demise, perhaps the improved drainage more than compensated for its disappearance. In one sense, the removals

of these historical attractions and elements can be understood since there was the gain of a contemporary amenity which would accommodate the horses and carriages of visitors, lot holders or members of funeral processions.

Coupled with the destruction of Hamilton's renowned greenhouse, that once "excited more admiration" than any other scene, was the abandonment of the garden and the orchard.²⁵⁷ Here, where William Hamilton had once raised a large quantity of vegetables in his one and one-half acre kitchen garden, where he had nurtured fruit trees, and where, after all the Hamilton Family had gone, Henry A. Dreer operated his first Nursery Grounds, a tangle of weeds now grew.²⁵⁸ Of course, the Cemetery Company did not let these grounds lie idle for long. Portions of the old garden became section I of the Cemetery in 1850, and, in 1866, section K was laid out on the remainder.

Possibly the most questionable change that was allowed to occur on The Woodlands estate began in 1852. Upon, the river front portion which, it may be remembered, was owned by the Trustees of The Woodlands Estate, the West Chester and Philadelphia (Direct) Railroad Company commenced alterations to the embankment in preparation for laying track. It was reported that "the Trustees in this acted in full consultation and harmony with the Board" of Managers of The Woodlands Cemetery Company.²⁵⁹ A forty foot wide strip, exceeding two

acres was sold to the railroad completely cutting off the Schuylkill River's edge that had been an integral part of William Hamilton's pleasure ground.

Rationalization for this dramatic landscape insertion was spelled out in a memorandum dated December 15, 1851:

The benefits proposed are that the railroad will build a wall to support the bank of the cemetery from within about two hundred feet of the east line to within three hundred and fifty of the west line or in all 1700 feet, from one foot under ground to four feet in height above the railroad track, which will give a well defined outline and finish to the Cemetery and add to the security of the premises by the frequent transits on the road.²⁴⁰

In the 1854 Annual Report to the Corporators, Eli K. Price alluded to another benefit:

There is besides space near the exit of the stream [Middle Run] from the grounds fitted for a larger and less artistic pond which may with good effect have some irregularity of outline and toward the construction of which the railroad embankment will be a useful help. But this will be when the eastern and south eastern avenues [Ridge, Valley, and Lake] shall be completed and carried across the stream at the head of the Lake.²⁴¹

Mention of the potential formation of a lake aided by the recently constructed railroad embankment ran contrary to an argument that Eli K. Price had presented just one year prior, advocating against bodies of water within the boundaries of The Woodlands Cemetery. Perhaps, the progress represented by the locomotive was enough to change his mind about appropriate attractions within and adjacent to the Cemetery.

Whatever the reason for Mr. Price's shift in thinking,

it was indisputable that he believed, in 1852, that lakes were more suited to public resorts than to cemeteries. In his Annual Report to the Stockholders he stated that:

There are two positions in the grounds where lakes of small size can readily be formed; but it will require careful consideration how much we should attempt to introduce sheets of water into The Woodlands. As a feature of scenery they are not needed, because we have water scenery in the surface of the Schuylkill seen from many points, and pursuing its winding course as far as the Delaware in silvery brightness, far surpassing in beauty and effect any artificial ponds we could create. Again such lakes would make the adjoining grounds wet and unfit for burials, and give an impression of dampness unfavorable to a Cemetery. Nor are we to forget that artificial lakes are appropriate appendages of large Parks and pleasure grounds, to attract and breed waterfowl, and not in good keeping with the silent and solemn scenery of a place devoted to the repose of the dead. It is true there may be collected the beautiful in vegetation from the lofty fir down to the delicate flower, to adorn and to cheer, and make the accompaniments of the grave unrepulsive, yet good taste would seem to require that we should not too closely in other respects imitate the formation of grounds devoted merely for enjoyment and pleasure. A small lake to elevate water for the plants and grass and flowers would express its own purpose not inconsistently with the objects of a cemetery.²⁶²

After such a reasoned statement made in 1852, it could be questioned why Mr. Price appeared to reverse his opinion about bodies of water one year later. Perhaps the answer was that, with the sale of the river front, he realized the "windings of the Schuylkill and more bright surface of the Delaware" would eventually be obscured from view by the railroad's progress.²⁶³ When that occurred, The Cemetery would certainly have to look within its own boundaries for a picturesque water

feature.

The large pond of irregular outline was never made, but a small body of water was formed at the head of Middle Run just inside the Cemetery's entrance at Woodland Street. This impoundment was no more than a mere pond and had a utilitarian purpose that Eli K. Price had thought "not inconsistent with the objects of a cemetery."²⁶⁴ He gave a brief description of the feature and elaborated on its function in a memorandum to the Corporators:

A lake has been formed in front of the entrance under the hill, well bricked in the sides and bottom, of the diameter of [approximately 30] feet, and is the reservoir for the water to turn an overshot wheel for driving the water to the summit at the receiving vault [in Center Circle].²⁶⁵

In his 1853 Annual Report to the Corporators, Mr. Price described this delightful feature in even more detail:

The Water Works have been completed; a neat temple like building covers the wheel that drives the water [assisted by a hydraulic ram] to the reservoir in the Center, whence it is drawn by hydrants conveniently placed to supply water over the grounds for irrigating the sward and the flowers. Before it is raised the water is collected in a neat and well finished round basin, which with future improvements round it will become a point of attraction, and is fitted to receive gold and silver fishes.²⁶⁶

Truly, this feature was one of the first introduced landscape elements within the Cemetery which combined technology, art, and architecture to meet very practical needs as well as providing for the edification and enjoyment of the public.

Another, much smaller attraction had been given as a

present to The Woodlands Cemetery Company in 1851 by Samuel Wetherill Earl. The "Sun Dial," a traditional garden ornament, was received by the Managers and placed "in the small circle north of the House."²⁶⁷ Its prominent location, the old carriage turn-a-round in front of the Mansion's land side entrance, gave ample indication of the regard the Managers had for the object. Eli K. Price in a note of thanks to Samuel Wetherill Earl expressed the sentiments of the Company and the significance that the sun dial would have within their Romantic garden cemetery:

We esteem the gift a valuable one, and as happily expressed by you, appropriate to the place; for with the morning certainly the shadow of the gnomon indicates the passage of time, so does it also tell us of our ceaseless progress to the grave. It does indeed speak the identical and impressive language of all that surrounds it, admonishing all to be prepared for the inevitable destiny; but here in prospect cheered by the light of the glorious sun and the beauty of Nature's works, that console the heart and turn it hopefully to Nature's God.²⁶⁸

The sun dial was clearly not meant to be merely a decorative garden ornament. It, along with many of the component parts of this rural Cemetery, was meant to fulfill a "didactic role by provoking pensive reflections."²⁶⁹

Of course, there were other additions and changes on the grounds which, although not necessarily considered attractions or inducements to "contemplative absorption in the idea of mortality,"²⁷⁰ were meant to be seen and serve psychological and practical purposes. The Managers were constantly worrying

about the perimeter fencing and the impression that it gave of deterring encroachments:

The west end of the Wall on the Woodland Street and a break near the middle has been rebuilt, and the coping of the whole completed. The thorn trees planted within the wall towards the West end should be laid and plashed so as to make a thick thorn hedge, and it is expected that this will be done by the coming spring.²⁷¹

The use of thorns in connection with a boundary fence was perhaps an idea gleaned from either Downing's or Loudon's writings since both mentioned use of thorn bushes. Eli K. Price certainly would have encountered the notation. In his memorandum on the subject of fencing at The Woodlands, he stated:

I have been thinking with anxiety upon The Woodlands' enclosures since our last meeting. It is frightful to think of spending several thousand dollars every 10 or 12 years; and too when a time may come when we shall have no ground to sell to pay for fencing. The following plan has occurred to me as needful, considering that we could not build all of a solid [stone] wall before our wooden fences would perish: plant the Osage Orange Thorn inside our present wooden fences immediately, under the supervision of Mr. James, who will have the ground prepared, and have the gardener to assist in planting if he needs one. He will not pasture until the Fall. Before that have a two rail post and rail fence put up to protect the [as yet immature] hedge from the cattle.²⁷²

Obviously intended as a substitute for a more architectural enclosure the thorn hedge was not only a natural landscape element, but one that suited Mr. Price's economizing and practical approach for improvements.

Even when contemplating large architectural additions to

the Cemetery Eli K. Price's thrifty thinking was in evidence:

The Board have appointed a Committee upon the subject of erecting a more imposing entrance to the grounds; and it is expected that in the accomplishment of the work it will be done with a due regard for economy and simplicity of taste, in keeping with the natural beauties and interior improvements of the Cemetery.²⁷³

It was as if Mr. Price was giving the "Committee of 3 appointed to procure plans or design for a new entrance" their instructions.²⁷⁴

In fact, Mr. Price did write a short treatise on what should be kept in view when considering the introduction of a new and prominent architectural feature to the Cemetery. What he believed to be the guiding principles were incorporated into his Annual Report to the Stockholders for 1852:

Again, our Mansion, which as the principal object in architecture, should give character to the smaller buildings. Its style is Grecian, and the present Lodges conform with it. It would be out of taste and keeping to put an entrance building in the gothic style. A filling in of the space between the Lodges of three ornamental arch ways, one large one in the center for carriages and two for foot passengers on each side, with proper relief in the surfaces and suitable entablature, would seem to be in keeping with the Mansion, and without a large expenditure do all that is required to making a pleasing and effective entrance. Let us not forget that it is the extent and variety of our scenery that is our great and sufficient attraction and that we need not the imposing effect of costly architecture to give significance and importance to our Cemetery. Let those which need them resort to artificial aid to give them pretension and claim to patronage, and thus make up for their limited space and want of scenery. Their architectural piles would mask or divert attention from more attractive and appropriate objects, or produce but diminished

effect in contrast with them. The most effective in the beautiful and the sublime is the simple and natural, which pretentious and expensive ornament but mars and brings in question the good taste of the projector.²⁷⁵

There is, within this discourse, an implicit acknowledgement that William Hamilton's Mansion, dependencies, and pleasure ground were conceived as a unified whole. As such, any additions which the Cemetery Company considered should conform, at least in spirit, to Hamilton's concept. After all, "the existing features of the place, which were the original attraction and choice for the object to which it [was] devoted" were potent lures to the emerging upper middle class Philadelphians who were eager to associate themselves with allusions to a lost Arcadia and the classical past so much in evidence at The Woodlands.²⁷⁶

The pre-existing architectural forms at The Woodlands, classical and romantic, combined with the naturalistic landscape, already in a state of maturity, was known to be able to evoke associations in the minds of those who visited. Therefore, when the Committee sought a design for a new gateway to replace the Lodges, the only true criteria were that it needed to be harmonious and contribute to the evocative nature of the existing ensemble. It was recorded in the Minutes of the Managers on June 5, 1854:

that the plan furnished by J[ohn] McArthur Jr. for the improvement of the entrance on the Woodland Street be adopted and that an order be drawn on the Treasurer in his favor for one hundred dollars, provided he agrees to furnish the working drawings

necessary in the construction of the same.²⁷⁷

In elevation, the architect's design for the entrance gate did not differ much from what Eli K. Price had described it should be in appearance.

John McArthur, however, had dispensed with the Lodges and proposed an edifice that went far beyond anything that Eli K. Price had envisioned. The structure was described as "the most noticeable improvement made by the Company."²⁷⁸ Certainly, it should be described that way. The center arch opening through which carriages entered the Cemetery was close to four stories in height. The flanking pairs of monolithic columns were each 40 feet high and, individually, weighed 17 tons.²⁷⁹ The entire building, with heavy pediment above, was constructed of "Rockport Granite" and had a substantial presence on Woodland Street.²⁸⁰ (Figure 61 and 62).

With its appearance resembling a classical triumphal arch, there could be little doubt of its associational intent. The entrance gateway may have been planned to symbolize a portal between life and death, or to have been interpreted by Christians as a figurative passage through which the soul entered eternal life and triumphed over death. Whatever its symbolic message, there was no mistake that its great scale was meant to impress and stimulate the observer. There was an intimation of fantasy and also the suggestion of more splendid Romantic attractions just beyond the veil of its

walls.

Conceivably, the Managers accepted this design from John McArthur Jr., already a prominent Philadelphia architect, with the belief that it signified to the public the grand success and outstanding progress of The Woodlands Cemetery. It was probably deemed an essential part of their effort to bring the institution to the attention of a greater number of potential lot holders as well. The Managers had already made it possible for prospective buyers from the City to reach the Cemetery's entrance with ease and a degree of comfort. All that remained was for them to enhance prior improvements.

In the Minutes of the Managers on April 2, 1850, reference was made to Eli K. Price's endeavors, on behalf of The Woodlands Cemetery Company, to effect further improvement of Woodland Street so there could be even better access to the institution:

On motion of E. K. Price resolved that in case the Borough of West Philadelphia shall macadamize Woodland Street to The Woodlands gate--this Company will pay towards the same four hundred dollars.²⁸¹

Although entreaties to the Borough were unsuccessful, it did not diminish the efforts to achieve the Company's objective to get a paved public thoroughfare extended as far as the Cemetery's grounds.

By the end of 1850, Eli K. Price reported that, indeed, the Cemetery Company had succeeded by different means:

A very important acquisition to The Woodlands Cemetery recently accomplished is the Plank Road laid, by double track, from Chestnut Street to The Woodlands Gate, by the Delaware Turnpike Company. Under an Act of Legislation passed in 1848, Pamphlet Law, p329. To the Section of the Act there is this promise, 'that the said (Woodlands) Cemetery Company and Guardians of the Poor shall be authorized to subscribe to said stock; and in case either of said Corporations subscribe twenty shares of stock, the travels of the Managers, agents or workman of the Corporation so subscribing, to and from the said Cemetery or Almshouse, shall be free from the payment of toll'. In meeting the subscription of said number of shares the Chairman of the Executive Committee [E. K. Price] did so with the express stipulation that the advantages of said Section should accrue to this Company and the further stipulation that all funerals should pass to and from the Cemetery free of tolls, and the Resolution of the Delaware Turnpike Company accepted the subscription on the above terms. This matter is thus stated and put on record that it may never be lost sight of. Without this cooperation of our Company the work would not at this time have been effected, and the Managers deemed it of so much importance as to incur a debt by the Company of five hundred dollars, which sum was made up by loans from the Managers and other individuals. There is secured by it a reasonable certainty of a hard road from the City to the Cemetery at all times forever hereafter.²⁸²

As suspected, advantages were almost immediately realized by The Woodlands Cemetery as a result of the "turnpiking."²⁸³ The 1851 Annual Report to the Corporators recorded that:

The Plank Road laid to The Woodlands gate has had a favorable influence, and disposes Undertakers to favor interments in The Woodlands, as one of the nearest and most conveniently accessible of the Rural Cemeteries.²⁸⁴

With Woodland Street turnpiked, the Cemetery Company had contributed as much as possible of any institution of its kind to facilitate pleasant and comfortable travel by carriage to

its location.

Fortunately, the company's participation in making Woodland Street a "hard road" was matched by improvements that were occurring closer to the City's boundary at the Schuylkill River. Eli K. Price noted in his 1850 Report to the Corporators that:

The Permanent Bridge [at Market Street] is altered in such manner as to secure an uninterrupted passage without any interference by rail road cars or locomotives, the former being confined to a separate rail road track, and the latter required to stop at such distance northwestward of the Bridge as in no wise to interfere with the travel or to come so near as to frighten horses on the Bridge or Street. The completion of the foregoing improvements remove the only objection reasonably made against interment in The Woodlands Cemetery.²⁸⁵

Naturally, these adjustments coupled with the conclusion of construction on the Plank Road, made travel to the Cemetery's gate, "about a mile southwestward of the City of Philadelphia," almost effortless for any urbanite whether on foot, upon a horse, or in a carriage.²⁸⁶

In fact, by 1852, the Plank Road accommodated vehicular movement into the Borough of West Philadelphia so well that omnibus lines began to extend their range across the Schuylkill. The 1852 Report to the Stockholders of The Woodlands Cemetery mentioned that the rural burial grounds were:

of easy approach by Plank Road, and an attractive terminus held in view to solicit custom to the lines of the omnibuses.²⁸⁷

Several years later, in a promotional publication, the statement was made that:

omnibuses from the Exchange to within a square of the [Woodlands Cemetery] gate.²⁸⁸ [Figure 63 and 64].

This was a boon for the cemetery since it meant that inexpensive public transportation was available to city dwellers from the Merchants Exchange at Dock and Walnut Streets all the way to the Cemetery's portal.²⁸⁹

It truly appeared that, after eleven years of earnest promotion and concentrated exertions, the Corporators could finally see tangible progress in their venture. The "more rapid acceleration of sales and improvements [that they] expected" to take place was, no doubt, fueled by all that the Corporators saw happening in the Borough of West Philadelphia.²⁹⁰ Perhaps too, they sensed that the growing sentiment towards consolidation of the districts, townships, and boroughs into which Philadelphia County was splintered would afford them expanded business and the assistance of municipal services which they did not, as yet, enjoy.

By the end of 1852, it certainly seemed that Eli K. Price had prescience of the unification of the heterogeneous County divisions. He acknowledged that the old city of Philadelphia was already expanding beyond its colonial boundary of the Schuylkill River. Mr. Price remarked to the Corporators on January 1, 1853, that:

the present rapid progress of the Town making past this Cemetery must afford to all concerned the pleasing reflection that they have aided to rescue this beautiful Park of ancient trees and diversified scenery from the levelling march of building improvements. When surrounded by the city ample space will secure the free admission of abundant fresh air, purified by the water it had passed over, and the masses of breathing vegetation it has traversed, in reaching the dense population.²⁹¹

It appeared that on the eve of his election to the State Senate for the express purpose of "guiding the consolidation bill through the Legislature," Mr. Price was fully convinced that rapidly growing urban areas needed not only "breathing places" but picturesque retreats for the masses residing in this metropolis.²⁹²

With the absolute certainty that the population of the City of Philadelphia would be increasing rapidly, Eli K. Price was unquestionably aware of a probability that only the rural cemeteries' substantial acreage would remain undisturbed. In the absence of expansive municipal squares and parks the rural cemeteries, which would be located within city limits after consolidation, necessarily might become the only natural reserves large enough to act as the lungs of the city and provide wholesome places of recreation.²⁹³ Even with the Consolidation Act promising "broad areas of ground, convenient to access of the people," there was no guarantee that the vision would stimulate enough public-spirited citizens to take steps toward the concept's realization.²⁹⁴ Until such time, Mr. Price was in perfect accord with A. J. Downing who

remarked that "in the absence of public gardens, rural cemeteries in a certain degree [would have to supply] their place."²⁹⁵

As early as 1852, Eli K. Price voiced little surprise that The Woodlands Cemetery was filling an otherwise unfulfilled public need for ample recreational facilities. His opening remark in the Report to the Stockholders at the end of the year even hints at the inevitability and acceptance of this function:

[The Woodlands Cemetery] is now so well established and of such constant resort and use as to have become familiar and a well understood routine of business.²⁹⁶

Possibly there was a lack of astonishment that people should flock to The Woodlands since even:

the managers entertain one undiminished confidence that the attraction and advantages of The Woodlands will be appreciated as they really deserve and as transcending those of any other in the vicinity of Philadelphia.²⁹⁷

Even though the statement above was articulated, there was a realization that proper deportment had to be maintained and those who sought out the landscaped grounds for purely pleasurable recreation and consumption had to be controlled.

The Woodlands, like most rural cemeteries located on the periphery of large urban centers, suffered from streams of crowds on Sundays. The Managers felt compelled to regulate access and on May 5, 1852, passed a resolution limiting admission:

It was on motion resolved that tickets of admission to the ground be issued to Lot holders and that the Managers be furnished with tickets to be supplied to others--and that the Gates be closed on Sundays against all persons not producing tickets and exhibiting them at the Gates before entering.²⁹⁸

By October 8, 1858, the policy restricting peoples' entrance had to be re-emphasized and strengthened:

Resolved that on or after the 1st [January] 1859 admissions will not be permitted to the Cemetery either by Lot holders or visitors except with a ticket--this regulation having become necessary for the proper care and protection of the cemetery.²⁹⁹

In effect, this closed the grounds to the public and even those who owned burial plots if the admittance ticket could not be produced.

Exclusionary measures were established in response to liberties which the general public and even the public transportation lines were taking in accessing and using The Woodlands. On December 5, 1854, the Managers:

resolved that the Secretary of the Company be directed to notify the Proprietors of the several omnibus lines in West Philadelphia that hereafter their coaches will not be allowed to enter the ground of the Cemetery.³⁰⁰

Probably the enterprising owners of the horse-drawn carriages had begun the practice of taking their riders on excursions through the grounds for a fee.

Obviously the cemetery was being used in a very different manner from what had been expected. Actually, the conduct of visitors was getting out of hand. On June 2, 1857, the Managers were moved to action:

On motion of Mr. Dreer resolved that the Executive Committee be requested to have signs put up in the most prominent places warning visitors of the penalty for plucking flowers or injuring the improvements.³⁰¹

On the same date, even more serious measures were approved:

Resolved that a committee of three wait upon Mayor [Richard] Vaux [who had been a Manager of the cemetery] to request that he direct such police assistance to be rendered as may be necessary to preserve order on the grounds.³⁰²

Later, in the same meeting of the Managers, further evidence of departures from the conduct appropriate for visitors was alluded to:

Resolved that the Gatekeeper be instructed to notify all visitors that bringing provisions or refreshments of any kind with the grounds for the purpose of partaking thereof within the Cemetery is strictly forbidden and that this rule must be enforced.³⁰³

Clearly, contemplative recreation in a place devoted to rest, silence, seclusion, and peace was being replaced by a popular desire for entertainment and to a smaller extent destructive behavior.

On June 7, 1864, damage to the plantings must have exceeded "plucking flowers and injuring the improvements."

In a meeting of managers on that date it was:

resolved that the Secretary be instructed to have a notice printed in the form of a handbill and to have copies placed in the Cemetery and elsewhere at such points as he may deem expedient offering a reward of \$100 for the detection & conviction of the party or parties guilty of mutilating a Maple Tree.³⁰⁴

The large amount of the reward suggests that it may have been

a prized decorative tree of specimen quality. Of course, it is likely that the \$100 represents the depth of the managers outrage.

The offense was vexing enough that they further directed the Secretary:

to have at least 12 copies of the 1st section of the Act of March 15, 1847, printed in large type placard and posted at such points in the Cemetery as may bring them most to the notice of visitors.³⁰⁵

The Act, referred to, had been passed into law by the Pennsylvania Legislature "relating to The Woodland's Cemetery Company of Philadelphia" during the first decade of the institutions existence. Its purpose was to list various punishable offenses that, if committed within the cemetery, carried prescribed penalties of imprisonment and fines upon conviction.

Feeling perhaps that further steps were needed to insure the Cemetery's protection the Managers resolved:

that the superintendent have authority to employ temporarily two night watchmen to prevent depredations, and that he be directed to make every part of the enclosure secure.³⁰⁶

it would appear that this was an over-reaction since one week later the night watchmen were discharged "and a day watchman [was] employed instead."³⁰⁷

Actually, the number of references to problems arising from visitors within The Woodlands Cemetery was quite small, especially, when compared to accounts of rowdy behavior at

other rural cemeteries that were close to urban centers. In fact, there was reason to believe that, due to the emphasis on respectful conduct and the precautions taken to insure it, The Woodlands continued to be the choice "of sepulture to individuals, societies, [and] congregations without distinction or regard as to sect."³⁰⁸

Prior to the War between the States, four Presbyterian churches purchased sections of the Cemetery for the use of their members and families. To indicate their further confidence in The Woodlands as a secure and sacred institution, the churches, to varying degrees, paid to embellish their sections. The Sixth Presbyterian Church, in particular, was noted for having "enclosed their ground, leaving gates at the footways, with a neat iron railing."³⁰⁹

Soon after the Civil War, the security of The Woodlands' sacred and consecrated grounds was sought by charitable institutions and philanthropic individuals. The managers of The Woodlands assisted them by either granting lot ownership free of charge or at a much reduced rate. The Preston Retreat, a laying-in hospital for indigent expectant mothers of which Eli K. Price was President, had seven lots conveyed to it for a token payment of 25 cents per square foot.³¹⁰ The only ones interred there were the stillborn and infants. The managers made an outright donation of a group of lots to the Lincoln Institute. The section of 500 square feet was

specifically "for the burial of children of soldiers who died during the late war."³¹¹

One of the largest lots in the cemetery, established two years after the war, was a gift of George W. Childs to the Philadelphia Typographical Society. Mr. Child's intention was that the ground be dedicated "for the interment of poor printers."³¹² Its size of 2,500 square feet definitely signaled that it would be available for charitable and safeguarded sepulture well into the future. Decoration of the "large and handsome lot" indicated its expected long term use:

It is surrounded by a neat railing, while the entrance is through a gothic archway and gate. The lot is well cared for, being surrounded by boxwood and evergreens.³¹³

The dedication of the Printers Cemetery, as it was formally named, took place on October 19, 1868, and was attended by many notables of Philadelphia's publishing houses. One of the addresses made before the assembled group captured the abiding attraction which The Woodlands Cemetery had preserved for over a quarter of a century. A representative of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, appointed to accept Mr. Childs' generous gift, remarked that:

when with one of those whose 'life's fitful fever is over' and his form shall have been laid quietly to rest within the inclosure of this beautiful lot, surrounded as it is by pleasant walks and waving trees; by the beauteous flower and trailing vine which the season may develope; by the many elegant tokens reared to perpetuate the memory of the departed--all tending to render this 'City of the

Dead' a place of pleasant resort for the living-- then, sir, in that hour will the true value of this noble gift in The Woodlands Cemetery be realized.

As a printer and as a Philadelphian, I feel proud that my native city may now boast of a cemetery so large and beautiful as this.³¹⁴ [Appendix VI].

Truly, The Woodlands Cemetery had become a place of constant and pleasant resort for the living, and, in Eli K. Price's opinion, was and would "more and more ever become superior to all others."³¹⁵

Yet after 27 years of personal devotion and considerable attention to the transformation of a superb private pleasure ground into a "hushed Garden of Peace," Eli K. Price was thoroughly convinced that The Woodlands Cemetery, as well as the other rural cemeteries established in the first half of the 19th century, could not and should not become popular recreational facilities.³¹⁶ By 1852, and no doubt earlier, he was in full agreement with J. C. Loudon's sentiments, since he stated that:

good taste would seem to require that we should not too closely in other respects imitate the formation of grounds devoted merely for enjoyment and pleasure.³¹⁷

As a reader of A. J. Downing's works, he most assuredly held the view that, indeed, the popularity of rural cemeteries as gathering places was evidence of:

how much our citizens, of all classes, would enjoy public parks on a similar scale.³¹⁸

After shepherding the Consolidation Act through the State

Legislature in 1854, Mr. Price had hoped municipal action during the intervening years would have established "broad areas of ground, convenient to access to the people" which the act had promised.³¹⁹

Of course progress toward a public park had not come to a complete halt. The former forty-five acre Schuylkill River estate of Robert Morris, later owned by Henry Pratt known as Lemon Hill had been dedicated to public use in 1855. Two years later the city was able to acquire the thirty-three acre Sedgley Park from Ferdinand J. Dreer, one of the Managers of The Woodlands Cemetery. Shortly thereafter Eli K. Price and John M. Ogden conveyed to the city a strip of land which separated the Fairmount Water Works from Lemon Hill.³²⁰ By the beginning of the Civil War, a continuous public promenade stretched from the Fairmount Water Works to the Spring Garden Water Works due, in large part, to gentlemen associated with The Woodlands.

Following the war, Eli K. Price continued to urge for a larger public park extending along both banks of the Schuylkill. His vision of bringing the country into the town by combining the 18th and early 19th century river estates was gaining a broader base of support. Under his sponsorship an Act of Assembly was approved permitting the City of Philadelphia to acquire properties along the Schuylkill and in the Wissahickon Valley. To facilitate the success of the

legislation, Price gained "approval of the Assembly for the establishment of the Fairmount Park Commission."³²¹

Eli K. Price became one of the first Commissioners of Fairmount Park and served on its Executive Committee until his death in 1884. More important, beginning in June 1867, he was Chairman of the Committee on Land Purchases and Damages. Within a year of assuming this position he was successful in promoting and gaining support for his idea that:

A park commensurate with the wishes of the people of Philadelphia required very different boundaries from those contained in the original Act of 26th of March 1867.³²²

Commissioner Price then went about "preparing most of the sections of the Park Act of [April 14] 1868."³²³ This new piece of legislation, an Act of Assembly, established enlarged park boundaries:

On the west side of the Schuylkill as they are now established [to be] extended the boundary on the east side of the river 310-1/2 acres.³²⁴

Many of the Schuylkill River estates which had been amassed, built upon, and occupied during the same period as Hamilton's plantation, The Woodlands, were with this act, vested "in the people as a pleasure ground forever."³²⁵

Having adapted William Hamilton's pleasure ground for a rural retreat of one kind, Eli K. Price embarked on a mission to meld other Schuylkill River estates, once summer refuges of the affluent, into a different kind of resort for the masses of urban dwellers to which they could "temporarily

escape from the din of crowded city streets" for popular recreation.³²⁶ He immersed himself in this activity until July, 1876. On that day, in a journal prepared for his grandson, he made an entry which revealed his deep and abiding commitment to assembling the multitude of sylvan Schuylkill River pleasure grounds into a unified "City Park."³²⁷

I this day passed title for the last property of any importance acquired for the Fairmount Park; that of William Simpson's seventeen and a half acres, on the west side of the Schuylkill, at the Falls, after several years negotiation, at a price of three hundred thousand dollars. Thus my great work of eight years duration, of acquiring nearly three thousand acres of land, some of it divided into many lots of five villages, as Chairman of the Land Purchasing Committee, and the passing of the titles to all real estate purchased has been brought to a close.

This service though very onerous, and taking nearly half my time, has been a pleasurable one to me, in the consciousness of aiding in a great and good work that would do so much for the health and happiness of the present and all future generations of mankind who shall live in or visit Philadelphia. As one of the first to enter upon lands, much of which had been the enclosed country seats of families who had deserted them some fifty years before, I was excited with delight to observe, that while buildings had gone to decay, and all ornate culture had been wholly obscured, the forces of nature had proceeded resistlessly to enlarge the growth of the planted trees, and to sow with seeds and extend the native forests. The Park was already there in features of beauty and grandeur, needing only curtailment of excess, and opening of avenues and paths to present to the view landscapes and sheets of water as the finest and largest Park in the world. My enthusiasm was kindled, and my labor has been an unceasing love.³²⁸

Truly, with the conveyances complete and large expanses of natural beauty preserved as countryside within the city

protecting the health and vitality of Philadelphia's urban population, Eli K. Price must have felt that a tremendous milestone had been reached. Indeed, what began as sacred preservation of The Woodlands' groves and prospects for a quiet retreat had, for Eli K. Price, culminated with the fusion and conservation of the naturalistic landscapes of the other 18th and early 19th century family retreats lining the Schuylkill for the "agreeable relaxation" of the city's inhabitants.³²⁹

CONCLUSION

THE LEGACY OF THE WOODLANDS

There was a "spirit of place" dwelling in the "matchless" Schuylkill River retreat, The Woodlands. The genius loci of this particular country seat had affected and influenced William Hamilton as he had labored assiduously to perfect his site, no doubt drawing in like proportion upon his own good taste and judgement, refined and honed by reading British theorists' essays and by his discerning personal inspection of the finest English country seats. In a budding American republic, Hamilton's much lauded success in blending his works of art with the exquisite works of nature and in bringing the united composition into pleasing harmony assigned to The Woodlands an architectural and landscape gardening fame that was accorded to few other places. (Figure 65 and 66).

Even as this private realm of natural allure and artistic merit succumbed to neglect in the decades following William Hamilton's death, the "genius of the place" at The Woodlands could still be readily recognized. Indeed, "the rare and picturesque beauty of its forest and scenery", in 1840, captivated Eli Kirk Price.¹ He, at once, realized the necessity of:

Rescu[ing] so much beautiful scenery from destruction, and [of] preserv[ing] it in its varied aspects for the gratification of our posterity.²

Even at this early date, in 1840, Eli K. Price signaled his awareness of the devastating effects of urbanization on the natural landscape which were soon to escalate, and of the resulting deprivation that was to be felt by city dwellers "cut off from nature's common bounties and those cheering influences of the elements which even the savages enjoy."³

As an individual intensely committed to conservation, ecology, public health and education in Philadelphia, even though some of the concepts were not fully articulated at the time, Eli K. Price realized that, through his vision for the adaptive use of The Woodlands, his diverse interests could be bound together. By establishing one of the newest forms of community institutions, a rural cemetery, in the borderlands of Philadelphia on William Hamilton's country seat, he could serve both nature and humankind. Price verbalized this staunch belief in "An Act to Incorporate 'The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia'" when he wrote that:

A number of citizens of the Commonwealth [including himself as provocateur] have associated for the purpose of establishing a rural cemetery at The Woodlands in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, intending to appropriate the greater portion thereof for the purpose of interments, whereby the beautiful landscape and scenery of the situation may be perpetually preserved, and its ample space for free circulation of air, and groves of trees afford a security against encroachments upon the dead, and health and solace to the living.⁴

It was in the last sentence of this statement that the first

clues appeared of Eli K. Price's further conviction, that urbanites would require a rustic landscape "as an antidote to conditions of life within "the City of Philadelphia."³

Although The Woodlands as a rural cemetery proffered hygienic removal of the dead beyond the edge of the populous city, so as to be less "prejudicial to the health of the living", this "garden of peace" expressed loftier aims.⁴ As a protected pastoral sanctuary, it was meant to soothe the spirit of those bereft as well as of those that suffered from the disorder and the stresses of an urban industrial society. But this extra-urban sylvan retreat was more than a contemplative escape; The Woodlands was also a "didactic landscape."⁷

Throughout the passages written by Eli K. Price, there were references indicating his belief that the former "parke" and pleasure ground of William Hamilton could admirably fulfill all of the many purposes and aims of a rural cemetery. Price's reading of garden theorist Abbe Jacques DeLille's writings, articulated and emphasized for Price, the perfect adaptability of Hamilton's English inspired landscape to be a superb commemorative garden. If indeed, as the French sophists implied, "death entered the garden with the birth of English landscape gardens", then the dedication of The Woodlands as a magnificent memorial park was the supreme acknowledgement of that postulate.⁸ And so as Eli K. Price

went about redefining Hamilton's picture worthy pastoral landscape, he was certain, even without the architecture of death, that the Woodlands would "teach salutary lessons to the human heart."⁹

Eli K. Price knew also that at The Woodlands, "amid nature's beautiful and impressive groves", the public's taste and appreciation of horticulture and its highest branch, landscape gardening, could be improved. This heightened sensitivity to artistic and virtuous cultivation would certainly have been awakened in visitors as they sauntered through Hamilton's mature garden "of rare and picturesque beauty."¹⁰ Nevertheless, Price surely understood that this subliminal exposure to the finer points of gardening could not have the desired, full impact as would the many individuals' active participation in the actual process of garden embellishments. Therefore, lot holders had the additional privilege of 'cultivat[ing their lots] according to their own taste."¹¹ Judiciously monitored by the Cemetery Corporators, this "gardening in the smallest scale", Price sensed, would only make the Cemetery:

more enriched and pleasing, and fruitful for the study of the naturalist, by the combinations of distinctive styles of gardening.¹²

He went on to say that "this unusual combination of different character of improvements and planting" was not unlike "an arrangement of nature."¹³ In effect, what Eli K. Price was

advocating was a cooperative effort of the Corporators and the lot holders in a design process which would refashion the naturalistic setting of The Woodlands for the edification of the participants as well as that of the many curious visitors.

And so once again, The Woodlands became a large sylvan sanctuary for contemplative recreation and learning where "The individual lots [were] ornamented as small garden spots to preserve the park like appearance of the whole."¹⁴ Furthermore, these "new features of the scene [were], both pleasing to the eye and grateful to the heart, in their moral and religious associations."¹⁵ Then too, this open-air classroom was to reach beyond the practical, tasteful and "virtuous" instruction and serve as a center for scientific study. Price specifically mentioned this purpose when he wrote that:

The more these [trees at The Woodlands] are varied in kind the more will be the variety to please the taste of general observers and also to gratify the scientific research of the botanist.¹⁶

The devotion of The Woodlands to these purposes, which did not differ appreciably from what Hamilton had intended, was not instituted by happenstance. Eli K. Price had adopted and integrated the aims and practices of Hamilton with full understanding of their timeless value for a society in need of reform, a society confronted by the ills of an ever expanding and dehumanizing artificial cityscape. (See

William Hamilton, some forty-five years prior to Price's reaffirmation, had pronounced the attributes of the naturalistic landscape and situation of The Woodlands plantation on the banks of the Schuylkill to be healthful, beautiful and convenient.¹⁷ By 1800, Hamilton already had realized that the domesticated portion of countryside he possessed would become the tranquil "village" landscape sought by urbanites for "summer residence" and what he termed "retiring places."¹⁸ In addition, Hamilton had definitely viewed his estate as a didactic oasis. He had liberally given his friends, his acquaintances, and "every genteel stranger a ready welcome" to his home and grounds, hoping they would come away with advanced and novel ideas that they could apply to their own situations.¹⁹ Furthermore, as a scholar himself, Hamilton grasped the importance of passing on knowledge to a younger generation. Not only did his nieces and nephews benefit from this conviction, but students at the University of Pennsylvania were aided in their study of botany by having access to his grounds and vast plant collection.²⁰ It seems none of William Hamilton's personal sense of responsibility and caring for the landscape, nor the anticipation he had for the role he wished his sylvan retreat to play in the edification and enjoyment of his family and his fellow citizens was lost on Eli K. Price nearly half a

century later. The singular efforts made by Price in "rescuing from destruction" the pleasure ground and "parke" that Hamilton had held most dear clearly indicated Price's acceptance of his role as steward of The Woodlands and as promulgator of the "objects to which it had been first devoted."²¹

William Hamilton could never have prefigured the sensitive adaptive use by which Eli K. Price assured the continuance of The Woodlands' influence on future generations. Yet he would have found comfort in the fact that The Woodlands had been preserved as "open space [affording to all] some of the finest park scenery near" Philadelphia.²² Hamilton who had devoted his energy, his time, his talent and his money to The Woodlands as a verdant enclave to insure that his extended family was "happily situated" might have understood Price's consecration of The Woodlands as a family sacred resting place to his own dedication of The Woodlands' to domestic tranquility.²³ Indeed, by comparison, Price's apportionment of lots for family and congregational association "in death as in life" was a similar theme Hamilton had followed in "forming [his] village plan" for Hamiltonville with its quarter acre plots proposed as sites for country family residences and community churches.²⁴

Just as "Hamilton's Village" proved to be a prototype for "borderland" development, The Woodlands Cemetery was to

provide Eli K. Price with the pattern and stimulus for the formation of Fairmount Park.²⁵ (See Chapter IV, notes 315-325) Price gave indications as early as 1843 that he understood the coming need for public gardens or pleasure grounds for Philadelphia's multitude. During his first twenty-five years of involvement with the re-fashioning of Hamilton's private "parke" into a rural cemetery open for public patronage, Price personally witnessed how this "magnificent" old garden, dedicated to a new use, drew visitors and became a "constant resort."²⁶ Though this growing custom did not dismay him, Eli K. Price felt that it was "not in good, keeping with the silent and solemn scenery of a place devoted to the dead."²⁷ He was influenced and shared the same opinion in this matter with J. C. Loudon and A. J. Downing whose landscape treatises he consulted in the transformation of The Woodlands. For a time though, he was resigned to the function of The Woodlands as a surrogate park since the legal mechanisms did not then exist which would assist or even permit the creation of recreational public open spaces for urbanites who resided within the confines of the two square mile City of Philadelphia.

In 1854, Eli K. Price was sent to the State Senate for three years and Matthias W. Baldwin and William C. Patterson were elected to the House of Representatives for one year "to guide the consolidation [of Philadelphia City and County]

bill through the legislature."²⁸ With the passage of the "Consolidation Act" the City of Philadelphia was expanded to include 122 square miles and the instruments were put in place to "consummate great internal improvements, to make great water-works and create a Fairmount Park."²⁹ In effect, everything was in readiness for remediation of many social and public welfare ills within the city. Eli K. Price, in 1884, reflected back upon some advancements brought about since Consolidation.

When in 1854 we enacted Consolidation, we did intend that the enlarged City in her united strength be enabled to achieve great things; and we have built great railroads; bought and laid out Fairmount Park; held the great Centennial Exhibition; will yet finish great water works, and bring into use pure water.³⁰

In each of the cited developments, except the railroad, Price had been a guiding force with a single-minded "view to the health, comfort and enjoyment of the citizens of Philadelphia."³¹

In many respects, Eli K. Price followed a path of public-spiritedness and patriotism that was not unlike the track taken by William Hamilton. Hamilton wrote from England in 1785 that he "found [himself] more attach'd to America, & more fully persuaded that [he could not] be so happy anywhere [else]" in great measure due to America's "gifts from nature."³² In the fields of botany, horticulture, agriculture, architecture and landscape gardening he felt a

compulsion to assist in the advancement of his fellow citizens. His republicanism was rooted in the land where enlightened and genteel leadership promoted virtuous rural pursuits which in turn nourished public virtue. Confirmation of this could not have been more clear than when William Hamilton wrote:

I have the vanity to think I shall be thereby enabled to introduce many conveniences & improvements that will be useful to my country as well as myself.³³

For Hamilton there was no better place to demonstrate to the citizenry these "conveniences and improvements" than at The Woodlands where, since 1767, he had "experienced so much happiness."³⁴ It was on this country seat along the banks of the Schuylkill in the country surrounding Philadelphia that he vowed to "endeavour to make [the American landscape] smile in the same useful & beautiful manner" as he had witnessed in England.³⁵

When, in the late 18th and early 19th century, William Hamilton went about perfecting his rural retreat, The Woodlands, for the "happiness and convenience" of his family, he also considered the "gradual improvements" as useful to his countrymen. This familial and civic function, which The Woodlands was designed to fulfil, was perpetuated in some ways through Eli K. Price's efforts to preserve the unified whole of the estate's core and adapt it to a new purpose. Indeed, Price envisioned The Woodlands', incalculable

advantage to the health and instruction of the citizens of the City and County of Philadelphia continuing well into the future. Although Eli K. Price's perception was that The Woodlands, as a 19th century institutionalized naturalistic landscape, announced civic pride and municipal reform. But by its very circumscribed purpose it could not supply the needs of the City's multitudes as an adequately large and wholesome place of recreation. In fact, Philadelphia's self-esteem as the historic center of social and personal freedom suggested to Price that this city of liberty should be the possessor of the greatest public garden where, as A. J. Downing wrote, "all classes [could] assemble under the shade of the same trees."³⁶ By 1867, New York City's Central Park, a naturalistic landscape created by the art of man out of a "barren and desolate" site caused Philadelphia's reformers to believe they had been outdone.³⁷ Whereas by 1857 Sedgely and Lemon Hill with their combined seventy eight acres had been dedicated to public use and added to the five acre public garden surrounding Fairmount Waterworks, New York City had already appropriated and actually purchased the immense quantity of about 750 acres for use as an urban pleasure ground.³⁸ And so there was little wonder in 1867 why the Committee on Land Purchases and Damages, chaired by Fairmount Park Commissioner Eli K. Price, suspended its meetings:

It had become apparent [to the Committee due to

Chairman Price's observations] that a park commensurate with the wishes of the people of Philadelphia required very different boundaries.³⁹

Subsequently, the Act of April 14, 1868, was prepared by Commissioner Price expanding the park boundaries to encompass over 4,000 acres. With the Act's approval this vast "expanse of greensward, partly sheltered, and adorned by trees and shrubbery was thrown open to all."⁴⁰

The First Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park stated that this grand, expansive property of the people:

contains the highest and purest luxuries which the soul craves, and which wealth and power can procure for itself--pure air, pure water, and the ever changing, ever beautiful and satisfying sights and sounds of nature.

How exhaustless are its resources! But of them is it not enough to say, its quiet shades will forever be sacred to the invalid and the aged; its sylvan slopes to the vigorous and the young; that to the child it will be a playhouse filled with pretty flowers; to a man, a temple in which to renew themselves, [sic] from year to year, the intimations of his mortality.⁴¹

Undeniably there was a resonance of the purpose of a rural cemetery as well as that of a gentleman's family retreat continuing to pulse in this description of Fairmount Park. It can be said that Fairmount Park's formation owed its beginnings to the influencing power of both inspired creations.

The didactic landscape articulated in the naturalistic design of the grounds of private country seats and in the

rural cemetery idea blended into the single entity of Fairmount Park. In fact, if one examined the passages in the First Annual Report of the Commissioners, it would not be difficult to find phrases used by William Hamilton and his contemporaries as well as by Eli K. Price to describe The Woodlands during its evolution. The text yielded extracts such as the following:

The ground we propose to acquire is peculiarly adapted to park purposes. No other city in the union has, within its boundaries, streams which, in picturesque and romantic beauty, can compare with the Wissahickon and the Schuylkill; and there are few, if any, which include within their limits landscapes, which in sylvan grace and beauty, surpass those which abound within the space we propose to appropriate. Nature herself has so adorned them that little remains for art to do, except skillfully, with cautious good taste, to open such paths as may best develop the natural beauties of the ground. Here through long coming generations, when with passing time our overflowing population shall have embosomed these spacious grounds with the homes of the people of a vast and prosperous city, will the Park continue--a monument of the wisdom and the foresight of those who founded it--protecting the purity and securing the abundance of their water supply; ministering in its clear air and ample grounds to their health and enjoyment, and in the beauty and grace of its natural and its artificial adornments to the refinement of their taste; while to the spots already of historic interest, which are within its bounds, will be added others on which stately buildings will arise, for works of art or taste, or for instruction in natural science, or where monuments will be reared to the immortal memory of those who in their day have greatly served the state.⁴²

This passage did more than merely echo adaptation and combinations of older modes of resort. It stated, with

certainty, what Eli K. Price already knew; that, unlike Central Park, Philadelphia's "park was already there in features of beauty and grandeur" due to the English styled family estates that lined the Schuylkill like an "emerald necklace" and served as the nuclei of Fairmount Park. Here in Philadelphia, there was no need to restore aspects of the countryside.

It was said, by those who knew him, that it was as a result of Eli Kirk Price's farsightedness that so much of the land "which had been the enclosed country seats of families" at the turn of the century had been preserved as a domain "for the health and recreation of the present & future population of the city."⁴³ Had his contemporaries peered into his earlier life they might have concluded that Price had not come by his sagacity by chance but by his deliberate study of and devotion to The Woodlands. His own words, in 1851, in respect to the preservation of The Woodlands were harbingers announcing his feelings for the other Schuylkill River retreats sixteen years later. By inserting clauses, within Eli K. Price's written thoughts about The Woodlands, the message becomes just as accurate for conveying his future expectations regarding Fairmount Park.

As our cemetery [or park] attains its destined development, it will become a source of congratulation to all who have aided, that they have participated in rescuing from destruction the most beautiful feature in the scenery around Philadelphia, consecrated it to the repose of the dead [or the health and recreation of the living],

and brought it by successive acts of improvement, to be the most perfect, both as respects convenience and impressive beauty of any in the world."⁴⁴

Thus Price's dedication of the merged private family gardens along the Schuylkill to mold one great public pleasure ground was, in a way, but a rephrase of The Woodlands' transformation into the tranquil scene and quiet retreat of a rural cemetery.

The lessons, which Eli Kirk Price learned from The Woodlands and from his practical application of the theories of J. C. Loudon and A. J. Downing to the refashioning of Hamilton's country seat, did not lose their impact. In fact, their potency continued to influence Price and noticeably kindled his respect for the propagation and distribution of trees which had been part of William Hamilton's "agreeable occupation [and] refined pleasure."⁴⁵ Price was in an enviable position to practice his arborist inclinations. As a Fairmount Park Commissioner, he had access to all of the old country seat parklands which in combination formed one of the most superb arboretums and nurseries in the nation. The scope of Eli K. Price's activities could now expand beyond the boundaries of The Woodlands.

By 1876, Commissioner Price, who had been:

among the very foremost in effecting the consolidation of that great city, and in promoting the establishment and adornment of her magnificent park and the success of the Centennial Exhibition,⁴⁶

found his time less encumbered by what he considered public duties. (Figure 67 and 68). He even felt a sense of "liberation" to pursue his personal interest in arboriculture. Eli K. Price wrote in his journal that:

My occupation of Land purchasing for the Park having nearly gone, I have thought of accomplishing a future good by increasing the variety and extending the quantity of trees in the Park, not only that they shall afford all practical beauty and shade, but become a center of distribution, and of scientific attraction: I have therefore issued the annexed circular and have encouraging, and promise of contributions.⁴⁷ (Appendix VII).

Like William Hamilton before him, Eli Kirk Price valued trees for their aesthetic and utilitarian qualities as well as their didactic function as objects of study in natural science. Also like Hamilton, Price was a member of the American Philosophical Society, and he grasped the importance of the primary purpose of the organization, namely, the promotion of useful scientific knowledge.

It was through Price's affiliation with both Fairmount Park and the American Philosophical Society that he was enabled to indulge himself in the agreeable pastime pursuit of silviculture. In 1876, as a respected member of the society, he sponsored the Andre Francois Michaux botanical legacy for the benefit of Philadelphia public institutions and organizations including Fairmount Park. In 1881, Eli K. Price's response to a personal inquiry from John Eaton, U. S. Commissioner of the Board of Education, Department of the

Interior, described the legacy's income application:

The direct mode is the gift of half the income in the purchase and planting of seeds and trees, and thence making distribution into our Park and other parks, the city institutions and individuals, especially to churches and schools, meetinghouses, cemeteries and grave yards.

The indirect mode is by applying the other half of the income in support of the lectures on botany, silviculture and forestry as a basis to effect the further purpose of the testator, namely, by tree culture to promote agriculture, both as a protection from high winds and severe cold, and as attracters of rain and the prevention of droughts and also by the preservation of natural springs.⁴⁸

Dr. Joseph Trimble Rothrock, who delivered the Michaux Botanical Lectures in Horticultural Hall beginning in May of 1877 said:

It was to Eli K. Price that the idea of commemorating Michaux, the testator, in this manner seems first to have occurred.⁴⁹

Thus it was fitting that Price was made Chairman of the Committee of the Michaux Fund in American Philosophical Society "having in charge the execution of the Michaux trust."⁵⁰

Eli K. Price's appointment coincided propitiously and supportively with his position as Chairman of the Committee on Trees and Nurseries in the Park. Holding dual chairmanship status gave more importance to his printed circular entitled "Trees for the Fairmount Park." The brief printed statement said that:

This park is the earliest stage of its formation. A principal feature of its beauty must consist of trees planted in manner to form pleasing

landscapes, and in trees planted singly, in groups and groves. The Commissioners desire to also add a botanical interest to the Park by having in it every tree that will stand our climate. To promote this object and duty to honor the name of Michaux, father and son, the American Philosophical Society have devoted half the income of the legacy left by the son to the Society [the other half to the Society of Agriculture and Art of Boston, Mass.], of about three hundred dollars per annum. This has been applied towards the planting of the Michaux Grove of Oaks, and to importing and planting in our nurseries many varieties of oaks. The announcement of these facts is now made, during the holding of the Centennial International Exhibition, as an auspicious occasion to invite contributions of trees, acorns and seeds from all parts of the world, and from all persons who love the beautiful in landscape, and to promote botanical science.⁵¹

Just as William Hamilton had participated in an international exchange of plant materials for beauty, use and scientific interest, so Eli K. Price worked in the same tradition with perhaps an even more far reaching viewpoint toward promotion and dissemination of information.

It is entirely possible that Eli K. Price felt a stronger sense of urgency than Hamilton when it came to broadcasting data and enlightening an expanded audience. Philadelphia, America and the world were quite different places in 1876 then they had been in Hamilton's day, almost a century before. In 1784, Hamilton's America was largely a tangled wilderness and a limitless resource filled with botanical treasures untold. By 1876, Price's America was devouring land and natural resources at an unprecedented rate and what had once been thought inexhaustible was, by some,

thought to be in peril of disappearing if conservation measures were not instituted. It was in this context that Eli Kirk Price moved toward "ecological" concern and developed a conservation stance.

Dr. J. T. Rothrock, said of Price that:

This legacy from France [Michaux] started Mr. Price upon the agitation of the timber question and the necessity of forestry. For a score of years he [Price] had witnessed with sadness the wholesale destruction and waste of our forest growth.³²

No doubt prompted by "such devastation", Eli K. Price composed a noteworthy piece of research and analysis which he read before the American Philosophical Society on November 16, 1877. Dr. Rothrock remarked that the address, entitled "Sylviculture", was:

important as being among the first studied papers upon that subject published in this City.³³

In an article read before the American Philosophical Society on November 19, 1886, Rothrock remarked that:

Now that the whole country is awakening to a recognition of the truth of what he taught, let him [Eli K. Price] have the credit of a prophet and a public benefactor.³⁴

Significantly, Dr. Joseph Trimble Rothrock, who was later accorded the title of Father of Pennsylvania Forestry and was a close associate of Gifford Pinchot--who was to become head of the Forest Service in the Federal Government--attributed his forestry conservation and management ideas to Eli Kirk Price's "healthful public policy."³⁵

This indeed was high praise for a man who thirty-nine years before was singularly focused on the "fine growths found at The Woodlands" with the insistence that "these ancient occupants of the soil be sacredly respected."³⁶ Then too, it could not be forgotten that it was at The Woodlands that Eli K. Price first began to formulate and express his belief that "nature's beautiful and impressive groves [were] protective of the health of the people while living."³⁷ Thus, the core ideas Rothrock embraced and built upon, as he worked for the establishment of a forestry reservation commission in the Commonwealth, could be traced back to their gestation in Price's mind as he labored to preserve The Woodlands.

Joseph T. Rothrock's devotion to the cause of forestry surfaced during his delivery of the Michaux lectures as arranged by Eli Kirk Price. From the time of the two men's early affiliation in 1877 when the first lectures were delivered until Price's death in 1884, Joseph Rothrock received unflagging support and encouragement from Price. In fact, it was Eli K. Price, as Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, who "wrote to Dr. Rothrock [in October 1880] on the subject of teaching botany in Philada. and the auxiliary faculty in the University."³⁸ The following year, Price endowed a Chair of Botany at the University and "Dr. J. T. Rothrock was appointed to fill it."³⁹ The West Chester

Local News of June 25, 1881 reported that:

in relation to his recent promotion to the Chair of Botany in the University, we have heard it said that Eli K. Price had much to do with the wise selection, and in order to accomplish his desire gave a generous helping and to assist in placing that department upon a more certain and substantial basis.⁴⁰

Eli K. Price's strong support of the instruction of botany was but further evidence that some of his earliest thoughts about The Woodlands as an open air laboratory and arboretum for botanical study had matured and expanded.

Clearly, Eli K. Price's acknowledgement of the hold on his imagination by the grounds of the old Hamilton estate and his mental association of the place with an institution of learning stands out in examination of Price's activities as a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. As a member of the University's New Site Committee in 1870, he participated in the institution's relocation to a small section of the former Hamilton plantation.⁴¹ No doubt, Price's familiarity with the advantages of The Woodlands Cemetery, which was close by, caused him to feel the same about the University's new site as did those who wrote of its noteworthy aspects in 1884. The University of Pennsylvania Catalogue and Announcement for that year stated:

The situation is very healthful, an free access of both light and air is assured, since buildings stand on high ground and at wide intervals from each other. The University is so remote from the crowded business and manufacturing sections of the city as to insure the quiet indispensable for study and health.⁴²

Obviously, this place apart from the urban core, still retained many of the natural qualities that William Hamilton had emphasized when he had advertised and promoted the same property in 1802.

The University must have found the area suited to its needs and certainly suited as an oasis for contemplation conducive to learning. Affirmation of this occurred in 1882, when Price investigated the legal aspects of the City's transfer of a larger lot of ground, that had been part of Hamilton's property and abutted The Woodlands Cemetery, to the University.⁴³ Upon completion of the parcel's sale to the University, Eli K. Price was in a position to guide the land's development as a member of the Buildings, Estates & Property Committee.⁴⁴ By April of 1884, in concert with Dr. Joseph T. Rothrock, Eli K. Price was meeting with Dr. Horace Jayne to put the finishing touches on the plans for the new Biological Hall.⁴⁵ The building's location along with that of the proposed Botanic Garden could not have been more aptly sited. They adjoined the grounds of The Woodland's old park and garden:

which still had much of their original natural beauty and retained many of the old trees for which the place had been famous from Hamilton's time onward.⁴⁶

And so, after embarking on a bold plan, some forty-four years prior:

[to] rescue from destruction the most beautiful

feature in the scenery round Philadelphia, consecrate it to the repose of the dead, and [bring] it by successive acts of improvement, to be the most perfect, both as respects convenience and impressive beauty of any in the world,

Eli Kirk Price surely must have felt a sense of closure.⁶⁷ Indeed he had transformed Hamilton's enriching and instructive garden into a didactic landscape and then rejoined portions of the old Hamilton plantation devoting them to higher levels of instruction for the generations yet to come.

Sadly, Eli Kirk Price died on November 15, 1884, and he did not see the doors of Biological Hall open on December 4, 1884, nor was he able to watch the botanic garden develop. Surely, he would have derived immense pleasure from reading Rothrock's description of the formation of the botanic garden. In 1889, Dr. J. T. Rothrock wrote that:

although the college campus has been carefully planted with trees and shrubs for educational purposes, and it is hoped that with time the university property may be made one large garden, nevertheless a certain definite piece of ground has been long needed, on which the rarer and often apparently uninteresting plants might be safely cared for, and where experimental work of an agricultural nature might be undertaken.

A Botanic garden of this kind has been begun immediately adjacent to the Biological Building. It is proposed that this garden shall not only afford ample material for general class room work, but that it shall contain representatives of all the more important orders of plants that will endure our winters.

Already a number of valuable trees have been set out, and the friends of the school are daily increasing the size and variety of the collection.

It is also intended that each student who desires it shall have a plot of ground assigned him, in which he will be encouraged to undertake investigations into the life histories of such plants as may be given him for study. In a word, it is hoped to make this Garden useful in training observers for more extended field work, and to utilize it also in the solution of the various problems which occur in plant life, where the observer must have the plants under his own eyes or those of reliable assistants.⁴⁸

Hence, a new garden of study was added on the edge of an older garden and as years passed they blended harmoniously. It was no more than fitting that William Hamilton's garden, which for a number of years had been used as the University's classroom in botany under the direction of Benjamin Smith Barton, would be linked physically and by tradition with a newly created center for the study of the Natural Sciences.

Through all the years that Eli Kirk Price worked to assemble and adorn Fairmount Park for the enjoyment of countless urban dwellers, and during all the time he participated in the growth and expansion of the University for the cultivation of young minds, he never once forgot The Woodlands. The continuing inspiration Price derived from The Woodlands which, as A. J. Downing had stated was "for a long time the most tasteful and beautiful residences in America" and of which Andre Francois Michaux had remarked that it was "impossible to find a more agreeable situation," was certainly understandable.⁴⁹ As William Hamilton before him, Price cherished the "genius of the place" on the banks of the

Schuylkill and the lessons it had inspired him to learn. When Eli K. Price "passed away from this life in the 88th year of his age", those that had labored with him in the preservation of The Woodlands offered this eulogy.⁷⁰

For over thirty years he was President of this board [and over forty as a Corporator] and in the exercise of that office freely gave to the company, the benefit of his great experience and judgement, making The Woodlands Cemetery one of the first objects of his care and devotion. His heartfelt appreciation of the sacredness of the family relation, and the affection of the living for the memory of the dead, made the Cemetery a holy place.⁷¹

Without question Eli K. Price had been a devoted caretaker making of this beloved family retreat a sacred family resort.

The Woodlands was more than simply a way station between the English landscape garden and the rural cemetery. It was, in fact, the quintessential presentiment of the urban park and the forest preserve. The Woodlands was a place where the progression of landscape ideas from William Shenstone to Thomas Whately to Humphry Repton to John Claudius Loudon onto Andrew Jackson Downing had been played out in a continuous stream of activity. The Woodlands was an American place where two men of remarkable vision came to understand the profound restorative effect of the united works of man and nature upon themselves and their countrymen.

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| 39. <u>Plan of the City of Philadelphia and Adjoining Districts.</u> F. J. Roberts, 1838. | The Library Company of Philadelphia. |
| 40. "Philadelphia Public Buildings." Unknown engraver, c. 1855. | The Library Company of Philadelphia. |
| 41. "Shenstone's, Urn." William Shenstone, c. 1764. | Etlin. <u>The Architecture of Death</u> , 177. |
| 42. "Stowe. Lord Cobhams Column and Obelisk to General Wolfe. | Ibid, 195. |

CHAPTER IV.

43. The Woodlands Cemetery Company Share. 1843. Price Collection. WCC. Philadelphia.
44. The Woodlands Cemetery Company Corporate Seal. C. 1843. Ibid.
45. The Woodlands Cemetery, site plan. C. 1843. Ibid.
46. A Complete Atlas of the City of Philadelphia, map section. Samuel Smedley, 1863. Manuscripts, Maps Collection. HSP.
47. Woodlands Cemetery. P. S. Duval, C. 1860. The Library Company of Philadelphia.
48. Plan. Saint Andrews Church Allotment in The Woodlands Cemetery, c. 1850. Price Collection. WCC. Philadelphia.
49. "Perelli Monument in The Woodlands Cemetery." Robert Newell, c. 1870. The Library Company of Philadelphia.
50. "Dallett Monument in The Woodlands Cemetery." John Moran, c. 1870. Ibid.
51. "Drexel Mausoleum in The Woodlands Cemetery." John Moran, c. 1875. Ibid.
52. "Scene in Woodland Cemetery." Unidentified publication print. Campbell Collection. HSP.
53. "Wm. Hill Moore's Monument, Woodlands Cemetery, Philada." Samuel Sartain, engraver, 1868. The Charter, WCC. Image opposite page 24.
54. "Moore Monument in The Woodlands Cemetery." Unidentified photographer, c. 1870. The Library Company of Philadelphia.

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| 55. "Lieutenant Greble's Monument, Woodlands Cemetery." P. R. B. Pierson, c. 1875. | <u>Philadelphia and Its Environs</u> , 60. |
| 56. "Harris Monument in The Woodlands Cemetery." Robert Newell, c. 1870. | The Library Company of Philadelphia. |
| 57. "Orme Monument in The Woodlands Cemetery." John Moran, c. 1865. | Ibid. |
| 58. "Unidentified Monument in The Woodlands Cemetery." Unidentified photographer, c. 1870. | Ibid. |
| 59. The Woodlands Cemetery Company. Share imprint. 1843. | Price Collection. WCC. |
| 60. "Woodlands, the seat of W. Hamilton Esqr." J. P. Malcom, c. 1792. | Dietrich American Collection. |
| 61. "Woodlands Cemetery, Main Entrance." P. S. Duval & Son, c. 1860. | Manuscripts, Print Collection. HSP. |
| 62. "Woodlands Cemetery, Main Entrance." C. 1863. | Smedley. <u>Atlas of the City of Philadelphia</u> . |
| 63. "Woodland Cemetery." Unidentified advertisement, c. 1855. | Campbell Collection. HSP. |
| 64. "The Drexel Mausoleum." Woodlands Cemetery. C. 1875. | <u>Philadelphia and Its Environs</u> , 61. |

CONCLUSION.

65. "The Woodlands." William Strickland, c. 1809.

Port Folio II. Image
opposite page 505.

66. "Woodlands, the Seat of Mr. Wm. Hamilton." William Birch, c. 1808.

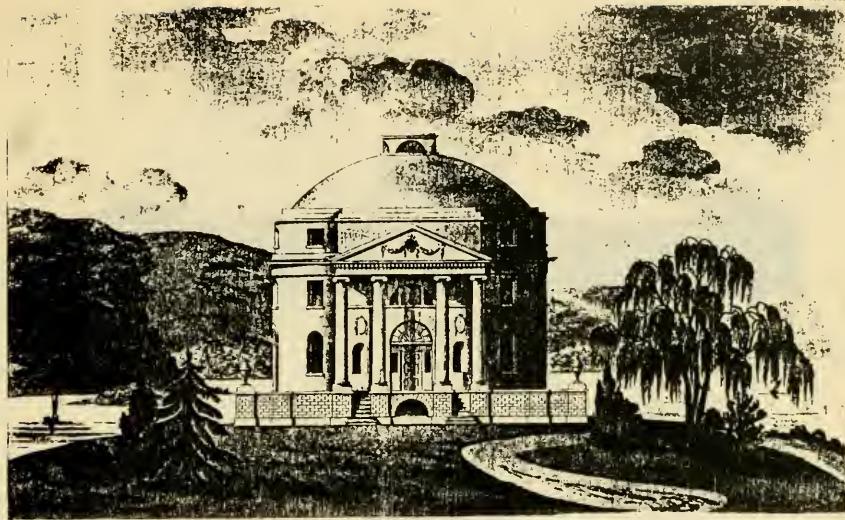
Birch, Country Seats,
unpaged. HSP.

67. "Main Building, Centennial Grounds, Philadelphia." C. 1877.

E. K. Price Journal.
Philadelphia.

68. "Eli K. Price." C. 1881.

Futhey and Cope. History of Chester County, Pennsylvania.



J. J. Swan, Archt.



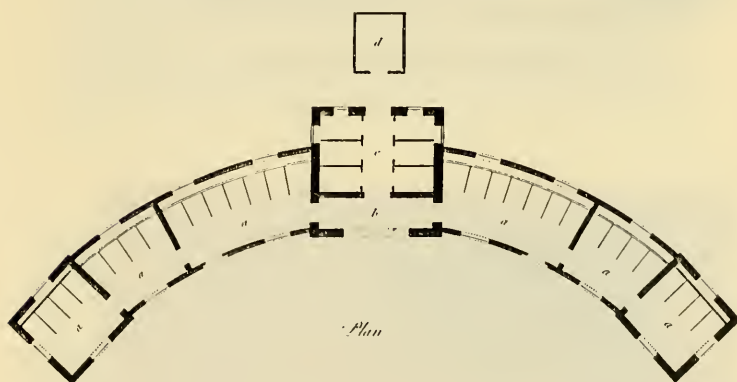
Top: Figure 1

Bottom: Figure 2

OFFICES AT BURN HALL.

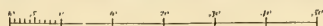


Elevation of the back front.



Plan

Elevation of the Entrance front



Published by J. & J. Topham, 37, 38, High Holborn, London.

Figure 3



LANDEDOWRE, NEAR PHILADELPHIA, SEAT OF THE PENN FAMILY.



Top: Figure 4

Bottom: Figure 5



Salute infernale belonging to M^r Penn.*



Top: Figure 6

Bottom: Figure 7



Top: Figure 8

Bottom: Figure 9

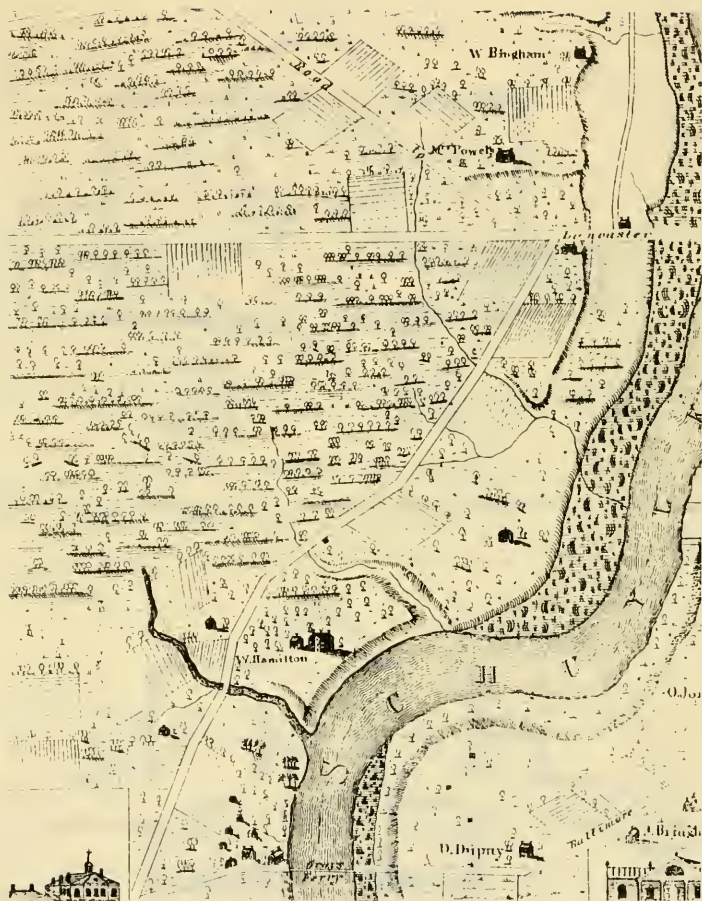
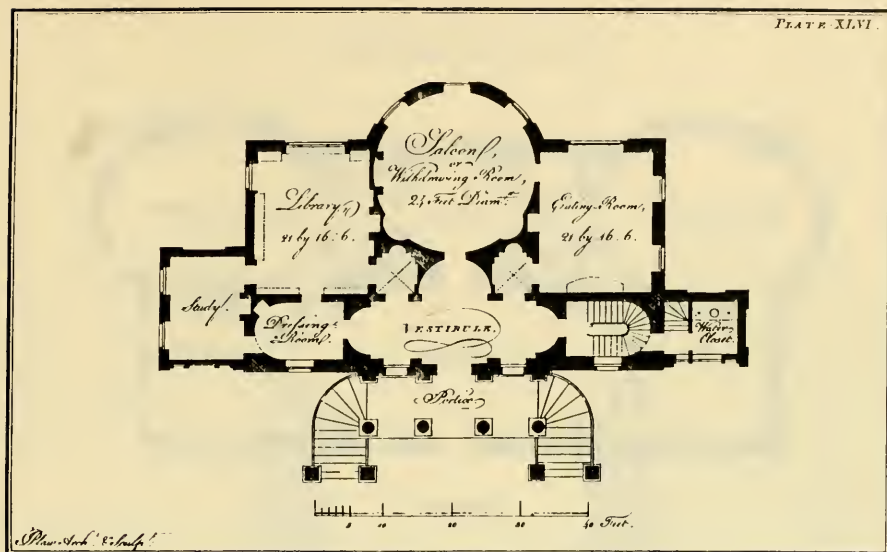
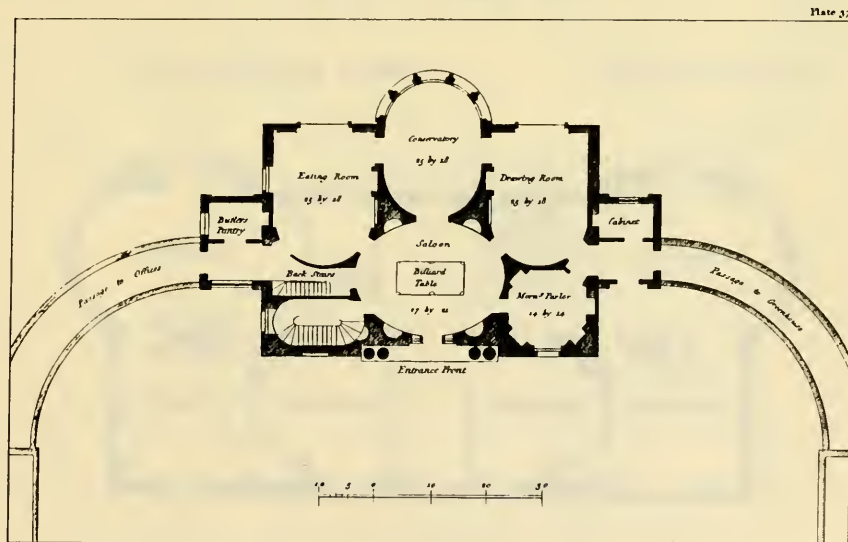


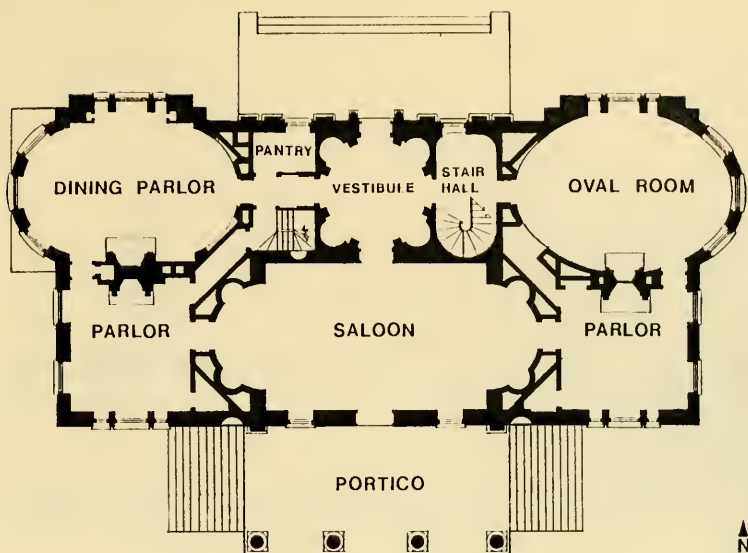
Figure 10



Top: Figure 11



Bottom: Figure 12



FIRST FLOOR PLAN C. 1806

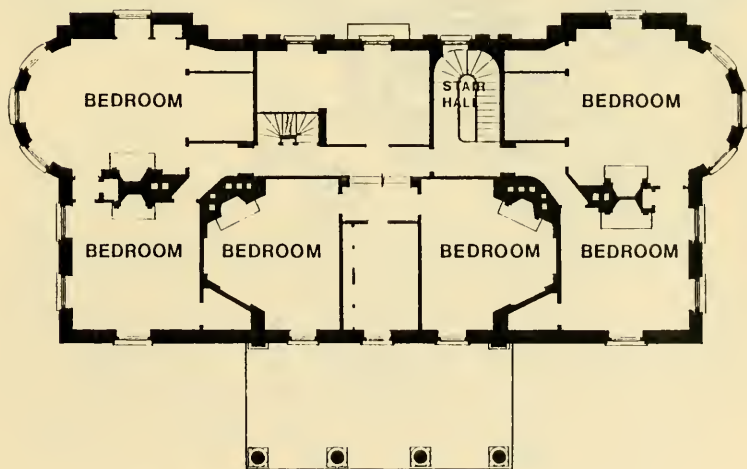


Figure 13

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

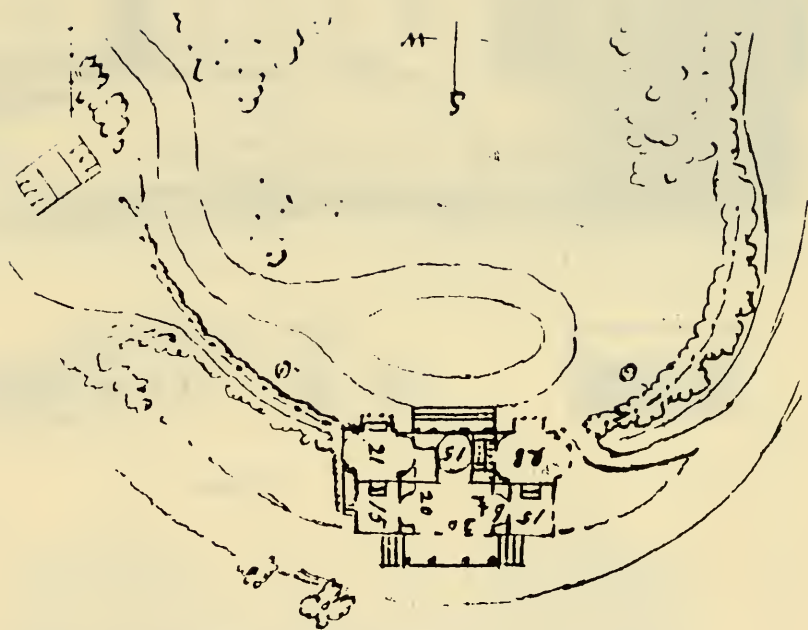


Figure 14

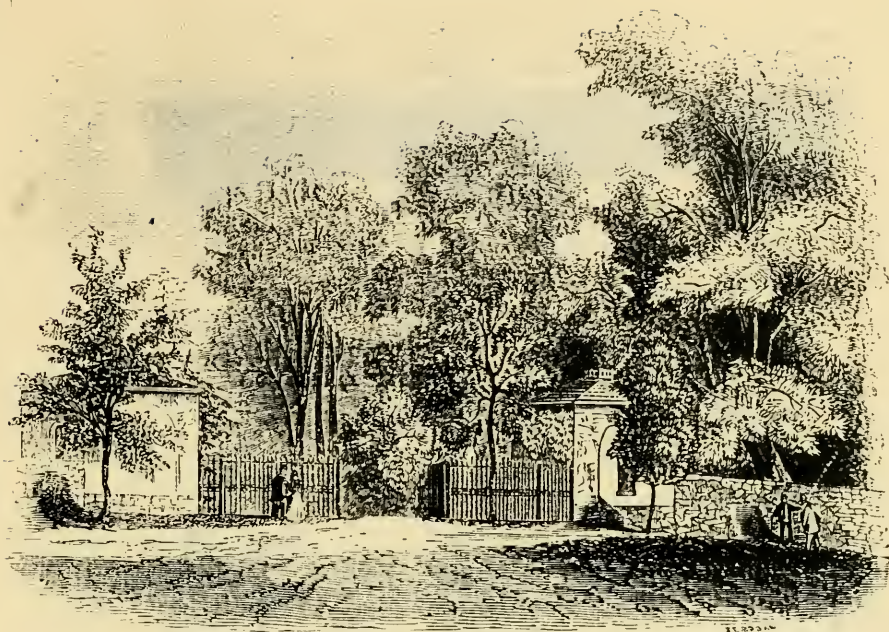


Scale in feet



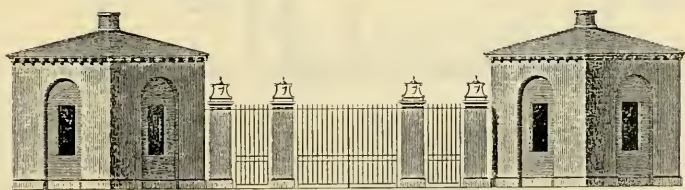
Top: Figure 15

Bottom: Figure 16



LODGE ENTRANCE TO THE HAMILTON MANSION.

TENDRING HALL.

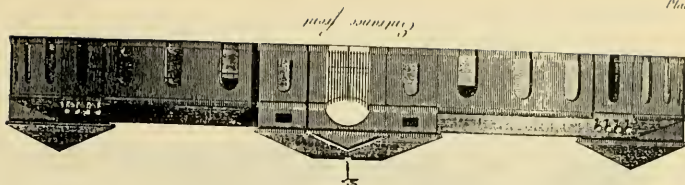


Elevation west the Road

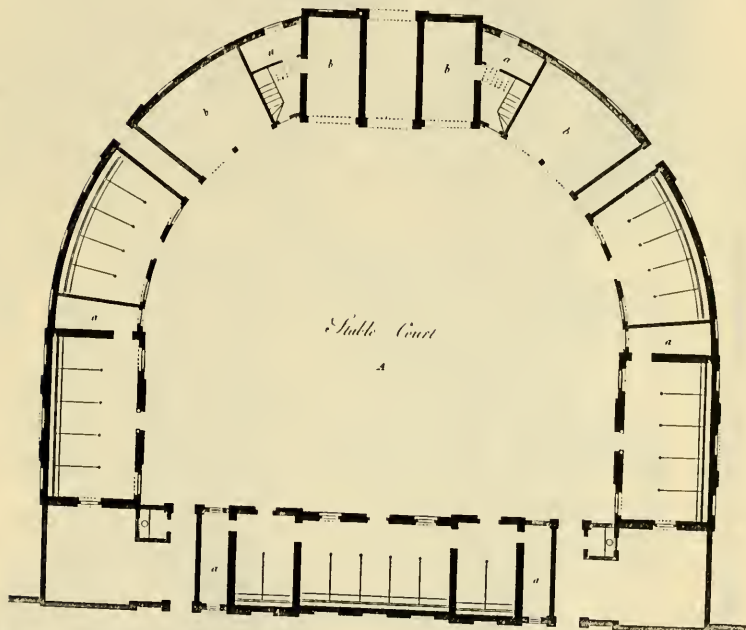


Plan of the Lodges

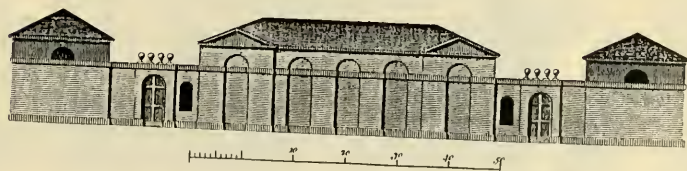
Published by W. & A. G. Smith, 25, Abchurch Lane, London.



Stables at LETTON HALL.



Garden front.



Published Jan'y 1843 by T. & J. Taylor N° 58 St. High St. London.

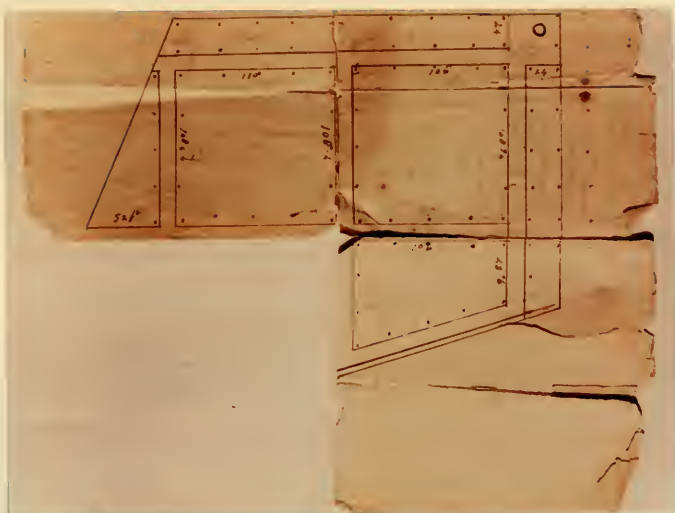
Figure 19

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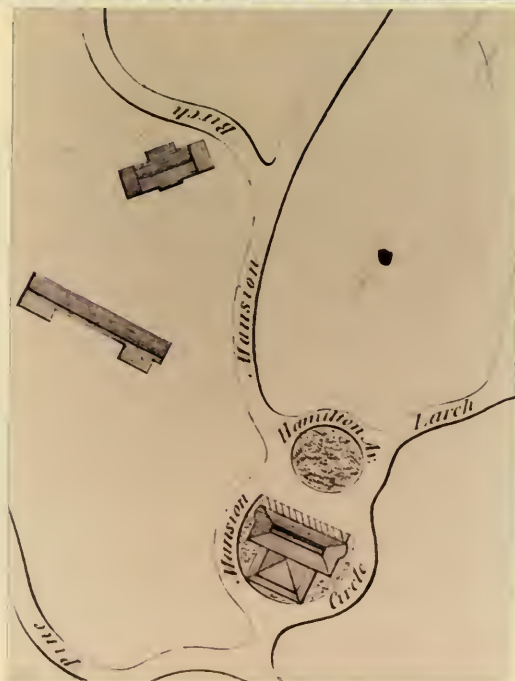
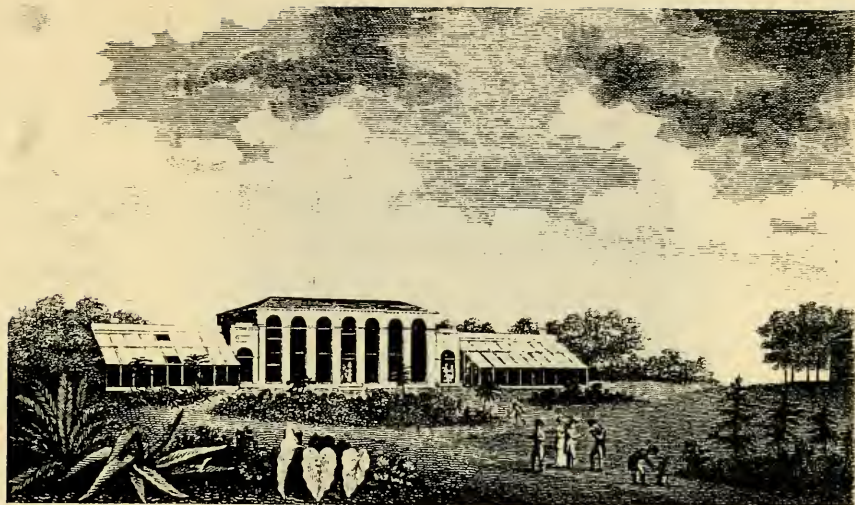
Top: Figure 21

Bottom Figure 22



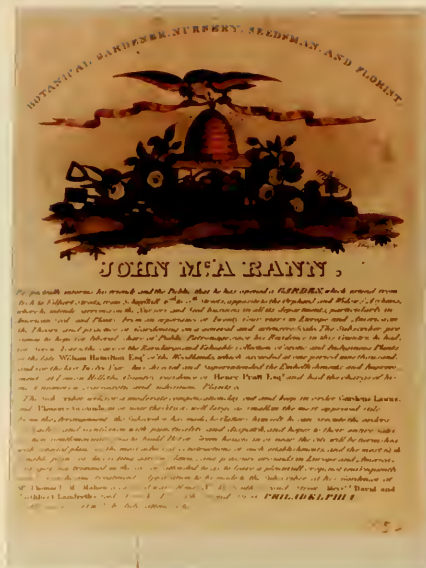
Top: Figure 23

Bottom: Figure 24



Top: Figure 25

Bottom: Figure 26



Top: Figure 27

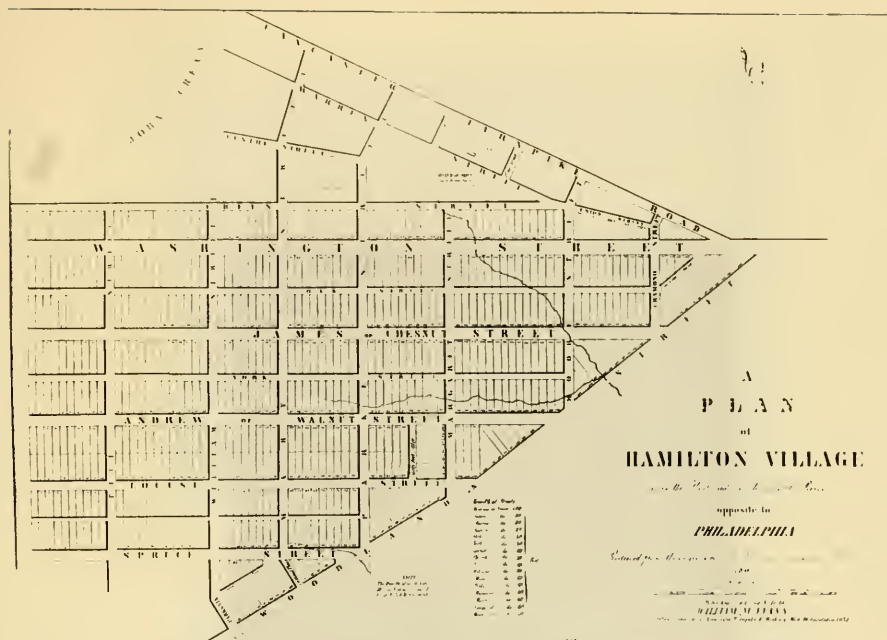
Bottom: Figure 28



Top: Figure 29



Bottom: Figure 30



Top: Figure 31

Bottom: Figure 32



Figure 33



Top: Figure 34

Bottom: Figure 35



Top: Figure 36

Bottom: Figure 37



Top: Figure 38

Bottom: Figure 39

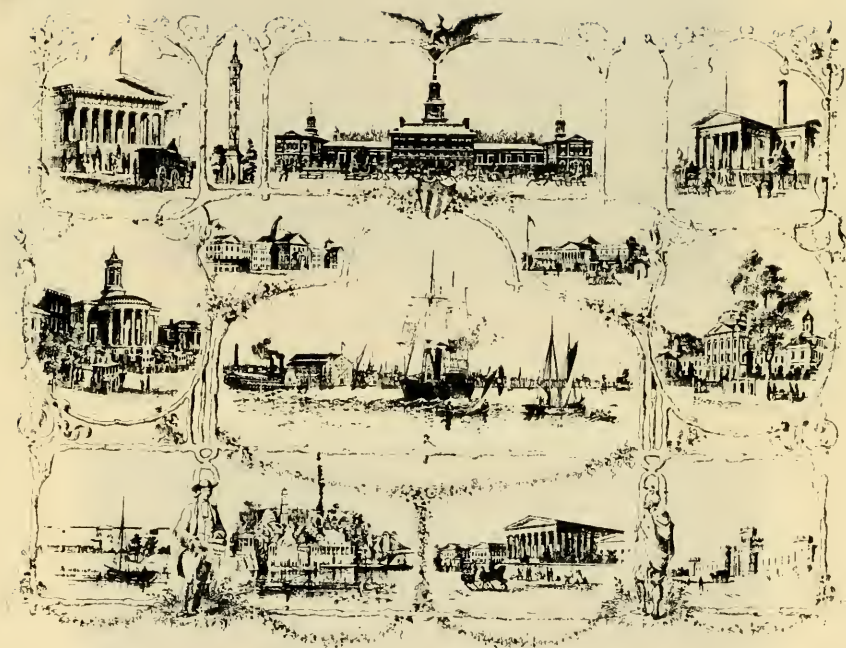


Figure 40

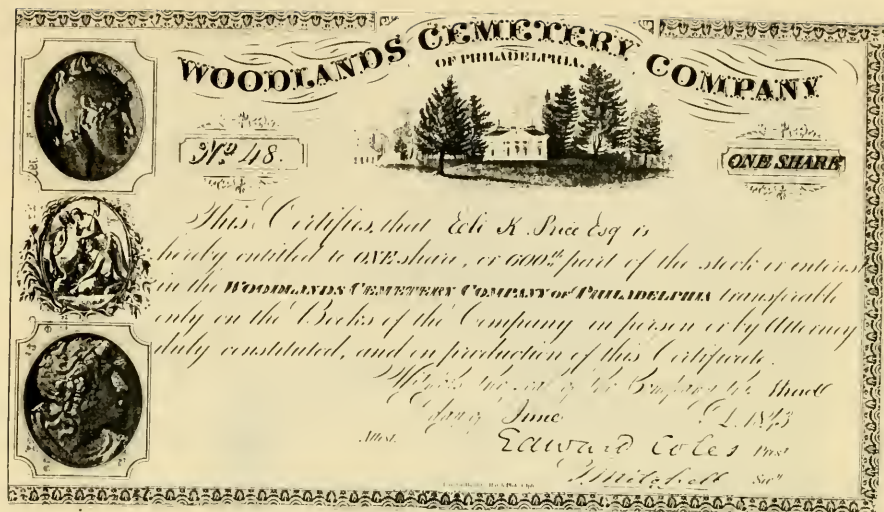


E L E G Y I.



Top: Figure 41

Bottom: Figure 42



Top: Figure 43

Bottom: Figure 44



Top: Figure 45

Bottom: Figure 46



Top: Figure 47

Bottom: Figure 48



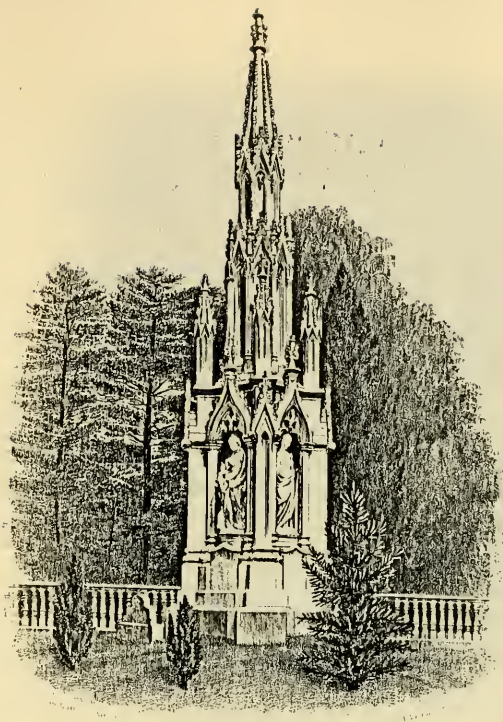
Top: Figure 49

Bottom: Figure 50



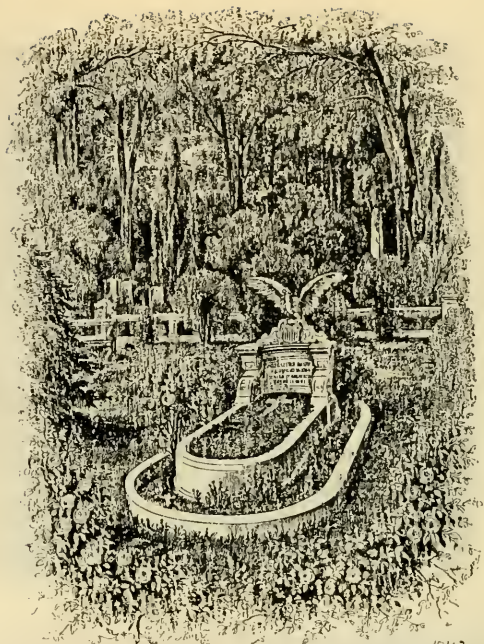
Top: Figure 51

Bottom: Figure 52



Top: Figure 53

Bottom: Figure 54



LUDWIG GRIEL'S MONUMENT, WOODLAND CEMETERY. 1872



Top: Figure 55

Bottom: Figure 56



Top: Figure 57

Bottom: Figure 58



Top: Figure 59

Bottom: Figure 60

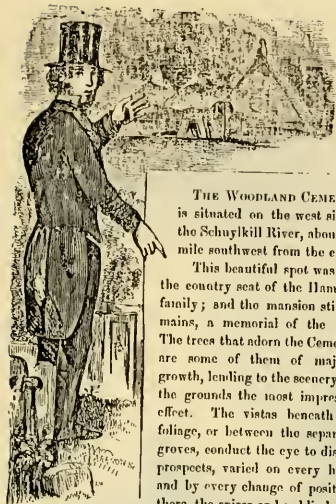


MAIN ENTRANCE



Top: Figure 61

Bottom: Figure 62



THE WOODLAND CEMETERY is situated on the west side of the Schuylkill River, about one mile southwest from the city.

This beautiful spot was long the country seat of the Hamilton family; and the mansion still remains, a memorial of the past. The trees that adorn the Cemetery are some of them of majestic growth, lending to the scenery and the grounds the most impressive effect. The vistas beneath the foliage, or between the separated groves, conduct the eye to distant prospects, varied on every hand, and by every change of position; there, the spires and public build-

ings of the city are beheld; here, the windings of the Schuylkill; and more distant, the bright surface of the Delaware and the blue hills of New Jersey skirt the horizon; while flowers and shrubs are scattered plentifully around, shedding a cheering influence in shaded lawns, or among the tombs.

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All that taste can suggest or science demand, consistently with the solemn purpose of the place, has been added to the superior advantages already possessed.

Among the many elegant monuments around, few surpass those "Tombs in the French style," i. e. with head and foot



stones, and beautifully carved side slabs, presenting the appearance of a couch. They are further enhanced by the profusion of roses and other choice flowers which cover the mound.

The Cemetery includes about eighty acres of land, of the very best quality for burial purposes. It was incorporated in the year 1840.

Omni-buses run from the Exchange to within a square of the gate.



THE DREXEL MAUSOLEUM.

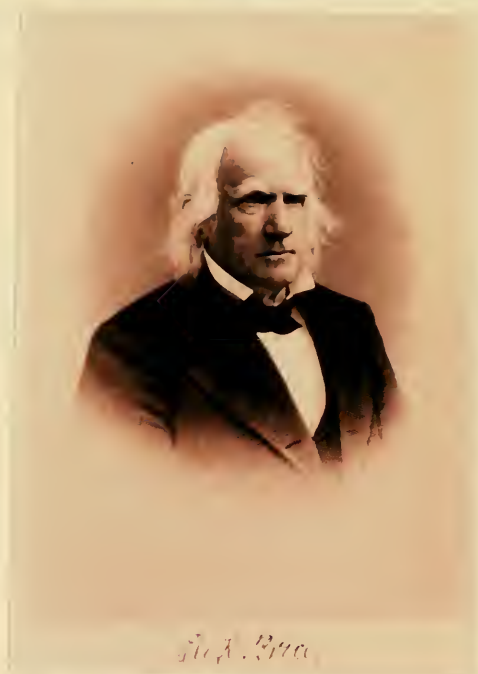
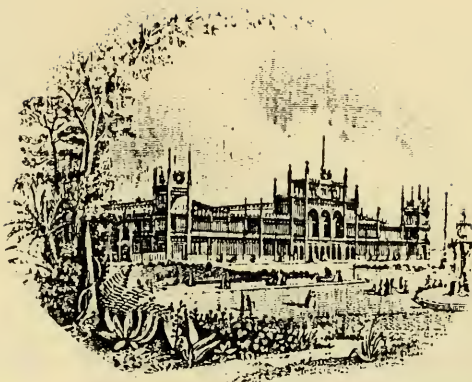
Top: Figure 63

Bottom: Figure 64



Top: Figure 65

Bottom: Figure 66



Top: Figure 67

Bottom: Figure 68

APPENDICES

- Appendix I. [William] Bartram. Catalogue of Trees and Shrubs. Title page.
- Appendix II. "For the Port Folio. The Woodlands."
- Appendix III. Statement of the Advantages.
- Appendix IV. Deed. The Trustees of the Sixth Presbyterian Church.
- Appendix V. Deed. Woodlands Cemetery Company.
- Appendix VI. The Woodlands Cemetery, near Philadelphia.
- Appendix VII. Trees for the Fairmount Park.
- Appendix VIII. Books from William Hamilton's Library. Henkel's Auction Catalog, 1920.
- Appendix IX. Second report on "The Woodlands." Beatrice H. Kirkbride.

CATALOGUE

OF
TREES, SHRUBS,

AND

HERBACEOUS PLANTS,

INDIGENOUS TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ;

CULTIVATED AND DISPOSED OF BY

JOHN BARTRAM & SON,

At their Botanical Garden, Kingstons, near Philadelphia.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

CATALOGUE

OF

FOREIGN PLANTS,

COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF THE GLOBE.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY BARTRAM AND REYNOLDS, NO. 56, NORTH
SECOND-STREET.

1807.

(8.)

IN order to make the Catalogue more useful, we have affixed alphabetical letters to the names in the margin, which refer to the soil and situation in which they naturally grow, those which require shelter in the winter season, are marked thus (t), such as require the green-house, thus (g), and those which require a stove are distinguished by an asterisk (*).

- a A good moist, loose soil.
- b A good upland or forest soil, loamy on clay.
- c With moist and shady situation.
- d A moist loamy soil on clay.
- e Richest deep and loamy soil.
- f Wet sandy or boggy soil.
- g Moist sandy soil.
- h A moist rich soil in mountains.
- i Light, sandy, dry ridges.
- j Any good soil.
- k Require shelter in winter.
- l Require a green-house.
- m Require a stove or hot-house.

Abbreviations of Authorities cited in this Catalogue.

<i>Auth.</i>	Author of this catalogue.
<i>Bart.</i>	Barton.
<i>Clayt.</i>	Clayton's Flora Virginica.
<i>Ham.</i>	Hamilton.
<i>Hort. Kew.</i>	Hortus Kewensis.
<i>Hos.</i>	Hosack.
<i>Mich.</i>	Nichaux.
<i>Muhl.</i>	Munkeberg.
<i>Syst. Yucc.</i>	Systema Vegetabilium.
<i>Walt.</i>	Walter's Flora Carolinensis.
<i>Willd.</i>	Willdenow
<i>You Cat.</i>	Young's Catalogue of American Plants.

FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

THE WOODLANDS.

To view thy wonders, *ROME*, I used to sigh,
 To breathe beneath thy pure transparent sky,
 Thy pictures, statues, lofty domes to see,
 And own thy far-spread fame surpass'd in thee;
 Till late, invited by the *Woodland's* shades,
 I stray'd among its green, embower'd glades,
 Where bright the wave of winding Schuylkill glides,
 And Peace, with Hamilton and Taste, resides.

Rear'd by his care, unnumber'd balmy sweets,
 The gladden'd eye in gay confusion meets.
 The flow'ry treasures of each distant land,
 Collected, cherish'd by his fostering hand;
 And all the produce of the varying year,
 Profusely scattered at his wish appear.

Led on by Fancy's secret, magic call,
 I reach the mansion, I ascend the hall;
 What fairy forms I see around me rise!
 What charms, what beauties strike my raptur'd eyes!
 On every side, the living canvas speaks;
 A *god* pursues, the flying maiden shrieks;
 Or *Night*,* with starry robe and silver bow,
 Sheds her mild lustre on the calm below.

Then, while within the *Woodland's* fair domain.
 The Muses rove, and Classic pleasures reign;
 For distant climes no longer will I sigh,
 No longer wish to distant realms to fly;
 But often seek these charming, verdant glades,
 But often wander in these fragrant shades;
 Oft mark the place, where little Naiads mourn,
 With ceaseless sighs, around their *Shenstone's* urn;
 Where bright the wave of winding Schuylkill glides.
 And Peace, with *Hamilton* and Taste, resides.

J. AVRA.

* The picture of Night, is one of the most beautiful in the Collection.
 Vol. I.

STATEMENT
OF THE ADVANTAGES AND INDUCEMENTS TO CHURCHES AND CONGREGATIONS IN BECOMING
SHARE-HOLDERS IN

THE WOODLANDS CEMETERY COMPANY.

Any Church or Congregation being the owner of Ten Shares of the Capital Stock of the Company, shall be entitled to select 10,000 square feet lying together, and as much more ground contiguous thereto, not exceeding 30,000 square feet, as may be desired for such Church, which shall thus obtain a section or allotment of the Cemetery; which may be designated by the name of such Church or Congregation, and shall have the preference in the sale of its lots to members and others: *Provided*, that the said Churches, or some person or persons in their behalf, shall, within three months from the allotment to them of their section, procure cash subscribers in the 30,000 feet, on the Company's account, to the amount of at least \$500; and *provided* that no sale out of the 10,000 belonging to such shares shall be made without the approval of the Board of Managers, nor any lot within said limits at a less price than 25 cents per square foot; and on every sale and re-sale of the lots there shall be paid to the Cemetery Company 10 per cent. of the purchase money, for the Improvement Fund: and *provided*, all lots in such section exceeding the 10,000 feet belonging to said 10 shares, shall be sold for and on account of the Stockholders of the Cemetery generally.

The profits thus to accrue to a Church purchasing 10 shares, may be fairly stated as follows:	
Sales of 10,000 square feet belonging to such shares at 50 cents per square foot,	\$ 5,000
Deduct cost of 10 shares at \$250 per share,	\$2,500
" 10 per cent. on the \$5,000, to go to the Improvement Fund,	500
	<hr/> 3,000
	\$2,000

In addition to this there would be the proportion to which the 10 shares would be entitled in the ultimate profits on the sale of the rest of the ground, as follows:

There being in all 75 acres of ground in the Cemetery, from which one-fifth or fifteen acres being deducted for avenues, carriage-ways, &c. would leave 60 acres for burial purposes, which is equal to (there being 43,560 square feet to the acre.)	2,613,600 sq. ft.
Deduct the amount which the Shareholders are entitled to receive, (there being 600 shares in all, and 1000 feet to each share.)	600,000 "

Deduct 10 per cent. of this amount for the Improvement Fund,	2,013,600 "
	2,013,600 "

And there will be left	1,812,240 "
That is to say, upwards of 3,000 square feet, on the sale of which each share-holder will be entitled to receive the profits.	

At a Meeting of the Managers held April 22, 1815,

It was Resolved, That the 10 per cent. for the Improvement Fund on all sales shall be charged on the actual price: *provided* it shall never be less than 50 cents a square foot.

Resolved, That for the accommodation of those Churches and Congregations which may not own shares, there may be allotted for each Church which shall advance \$500 towards lots to be sold to its members, a section of ground not exceeding 60,000 square feet, wherein the Church shall sell lots to members of its congregation, contiguously, to the extent of one-half the space, at a price not less than 50 cents per square foot; and the Company may sell the residue, contiguously, on one side of such allotment, at the same price; and there shall be allowed, for the benefit of such Church, a discount on the sales made to its members of 10 per cent.—all such sales to be made subject to the rules and regulations of, and the titles to be taken from, the "WOODLANDS CEMETERY COMPANY." *Provided*, if such Church shall not make sales at the rate of 5,000 feet per annum, the Company may sell thereof enough to make up that quantity in each year, also contiguously; and *provided*, that the Cemetery Company may raise the price in such allotment whenever the demand and general increase of the prices in the Cemetery may warrant it.

CHARLES E. LEX, SECRETARY.

B. C. WILCOCKS, PRESIDENT,
ELI K. PRICE, TREASURER,
No. 309 Arch Street.

Know all Men by these Presents,

That THE TRUSTEES OF THE SIXTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, for and in consideration of the sum of \$ lawful money, to them paid by , the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged,
Have granted, assigned, sold and conveyed, and they their heirs do grant, assign, sell and convey unto the said Ecclesiastical Corporation, their
 Successors at common law and assigns, the entire and exclusive right of Sepulchre or Interment in ^{the City of Philadelphia} a certain lot in the SIXTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
Burial Ground in The Woodlands Cemetery, situate in the Township of Shiloh, and County of Philadelphia,
marked in the map or plan of said Cemetery with the number being
in Block I Lot Containing Acres, More or Less square feet.

Together with all and singular the rights, hereditaments and appurtenances thereto belonging and all Estate, Right, Title and advantage, in and to the above said Lands To have and to hold the same unto the said Trustees their heirs and assigns forever, for the purposes of Agri-culture Subject to all the conditions and provisions contained in the Original Deed from the Westlanders Company above recited. And also, that in all cases of sale by the owner of any lot or lots, or part of a lot in the said Church Brevel Ground in the Westlanders Company, the said Church Corporation shall have the preference right, at the price paid for the same by the said purchaser-for whom a purchase is to be held at a stated meeting of the Board of Trustees of Church, and of the offer shall be accepted within fifteen days, then the purchaser shall be at liberty to dispose of the lot or lots, in any manner that may be approved of by the said Trustees.

In Witness Whereof, the said Corporation have caused their Corporate Seal to be hereunto affixed and dated the 22nd day of January, 1877, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and 77-78.



CITY OF PHILADELPHIA. 49

Be it remembered that on this 8th day of Sept., Anno Domini, 1907, before me the Subscribing Secretary of said Corporation, personally came J. H. A. [unclear] the Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Seventh Presbyterian Church in the City of Philadelphia, as his sole and only according to law, depose and say, that the seal affixed to the foregoing Indenture is the corporate seal of the said Corporation, that the name was so affixed, and the Indenture thereunto sealed and delivered, as the act and deed of the said The Trustees of the Seventh Presbyterian Church in the City of Philadelphia; that the name of him, the deponent, therein subscribed, as Secretary, in attestation of the execution and delivery thereof, is of his own proper handwriting, and that he did also see [Signature] President of the said Corporation, subscribe his name thereto, also in attestation of said execution and delivery.

Witness and subscribed before me the
day and year aforesaid.

WITNESS my hand and Seal. - *John A. [Signature]*

At 1000 ft. level
D. 1000 ft. level



22. *Conium maculatum*

Sixth Presbyterian Church

William Townsend

BURLING, LOT IN

"The Woodlands Cemetery."

W. 1/2 Lot - 3H Section I. Area 90.89 ft.
Transfer approved and registered
in Register No. 2 page 579.
November 10. 1891

En Kirk Free,
Macmillan,
Woodlands, Exeter

Appendix IV

THE WOODLANDS CEMETERY,
NEAR PHILADELPHIA.

I.

Time was when Health and Fashion's peer,
Exiled by City's sickly heat,
Held their gay court for summer here,
Beneath the shade of Woodland's seat.

II.

The suitors met in princely hall,
Or gather'd on the verdant lawn,
While Pleasure ruled the hours at call,
Through noon or eve, from rosy dawn.

III.

A chapel now, that princely hall,
Where echoed tread and voices of mirth,
Receives the dead with funeral pall,
And witnesses "the last of earth."

IV.

Now sombre groups, on lawn of green,
With heaving turf beneath their feet,
Beside the plumed hearse are seen,
Where Pleasure's throng was wont to meet.

V.

Not more the distant spire or dome
Mark yonder life's gay throng'd abode,
Than tombs around the silent home
Of those who erst its halls have trod.

VI.

We linger at the shaft, or mound,
By devious paths through forest led;
With faltering step we tread the ground
Which bounds the city of the dead.

VII.

"With sculpture deck'd," Affection's hand
On tablets pure inscribes a name
Endear'd to all her kindred band,
Though blazon'd not on scroll of Fame.

VIII.

Yet here beneath a warrior's hid,
Borne hither from the fields of strife:
The Spirit's sword his battle blade,
His laurel wreath the crown of life.

IX.

Friend of my youth, thy grave is here!
And, though it mark a spirit fled,
Yet memory's page and tribute tear
Thy name shall consecrate, now dead.

X.

Not more on life's embattled plains
Than here are laurels grown, or won,
As countless seem the Reaper's gains
While earthly pilgrimage is run.

XI.

When Time shall record bear no more
Earth's monarch sceptreless will come;
Borne on to that eternal shore,
Death enters last these gates of doom.

HENRY PAUL BECK.

September 30, 1850.

Appendix VI

Trees for the Fairmount Park.

This park is in the earliest stage of its formation. A principal feature of its beauty must consist of trees planted in manner to form pleasing landscapes, and in trees planted singly, in groups and groves. The Commissioners desire to also add a botanical interest to the Park by having in it every tree that will stand our climate. To promote this object, and duly to honor the name of Michaux, father and son, the American Philosophical Society have devoted half the income of the legacy left by the son to the Society, of about three hundred dollars per annum. This has been applied towards the planting of the Michaux Grove of Oaks, and to importing and planting in our nurseries many varieties of oaks. The announcement of these facts is now made, during the holding of the Centennial International Exhibition, as an auspicious occasion to invite contributions of trees, acorns and seeds from all parts of the world, and from all persons who love the beautiful in landscape, and to promote botanical science.

Communications may be made to

Oliver H. Pierce,

709 Walnut Street, Philadelphia,

*Chairman of Committee on Trees and Nurseries in the Park;
Chairman of Committee on Michaux Fund in American Philosophical Society.*

BARTRAM, WILLIAM. Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws, containing an Account of the Soil and Natural Productions of those Regions. Together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians, with folding and other plates, some of which have been colored by hand, and the rare portrait of Mico Chlucco by Trenchard, and a folding map.

8vo, calf. Philadelphia, 1791

Presentation copy from the author, with inscription on the title page, "William Hamilton's Book given to him by the Author June 9, 1799," and with the book-plate of William Hamilton. Scarce.

BURNABY, REV. ANDREW. Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America in the years 1759 and 1760, with observations upon the State of the Colonies. Second Edition. 8vo, calf (cracked). London, 1775

Autograph presentation copy from the author, and with signature of William Hamilton, of the "Woodlands," on the title.

CAPE BRETON. Genuine Letters and Memoirs, Relating to the Natural, Civil and Commercial History of the Islands of Cape Breton and Saint John, from the first settlement there, to the taking of Louisburg by the English, in 1758, in which, among many interesting particulars, the causes and previous events of the present War are explained.

8vo, contemporary calf. London, 1760

From the library of Jas. Hamilton, Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania, with autograph on title, and bookplate of Wm. Hamilton, of Woodlands.

(DICKINSON, JOHN). Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies.

8vo. David Hall and Wm. Sellers: Philadelphia, 1768

One of the most powerful pamphlets espousing the cause of Colonists that appeared in America. It was virtually published in every paper in the country, and the author was received by the inhabitants of every town in which he appeared with the greatest eclat. This is Gov. Jas. Hamilton's copy, with his autograph on title, and is the very rare First Edition.

(DULANEY, DAN'L.) Consideration on the Propriety of imposing Taxes on the British Colonies, for the Purpose of raising a Revenue, by Act of Parliament.

8vo. Jno. Holt: New York, 1765

"His opinions were thought to have moulded those of Wm. Pitt, by whom they were publicly noticed with great honor."—Bancroft. This copy has the autograph of Wm. Hamilton on title.

(FRANKLIN, B.) A True and Impartial Statement of the Province of Pennsylvania. 12mo, half calf.

Philadelphia: Printed by W. Dunlap, 1759

This book is believed to have been inspired, if not wholly written by Benjamin Franklin. Bears the signature of William Hamilton, of the "Woodlands," on the title. Rare.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR. The Contest in America between Great Britain and France, with its Consequences and Importance, giving an Account of the Views and Designs of the French, with the Interests of Great Britain, and the Situation of the British and French Colonies in all parts of America, in which a Proper Barrier between the two Nations in North America is pointed out, with a Method to Prosecute the War, so as to obtain that necessary security for our Colonies. By an Impartial Hand.

8vo, half bound.

London, 1757

With bookplate of Wm. Hamilton of the Woodlands. Name cut from title.

HUTCHINS, THOS. An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West-Florida, comprehending the River Mississippi, with its Principal Branches and Settlements, and the Rivers Pearl, Pascagoula, Mobile, Perdido, Escanabia, Chacta-Hatcha, &c. The Climate, Soil and Produce, whether Animal, Vegetable or Mineral, with directions for sailing into all the Bays, Lakes, Harbours and Rivers on the North side of the Gulf of Mexico, &c.

8vo, unbound.

Philadelphia, 1784

From the library of Wm. Hamilton, of the Woodlands, with his autograph on title.

HUTCHINSON, MR. (THOMAS). The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from the First Settlement thereof in 1628 until its incorporation with the Colony of Plimouth, Province of Main, &c. By the Charter of King William and Queen Mary in 1691, with the Second Volume continuing it Until the year 1756, and with the Third Volume Edited from the Author's Manuscript by Rev. John Hutchinson, being the history down to 1774, comprising a detailed Narrative of the Origin and Early Stages of the American Revolution.

3 vols. 8vo, calf and cloth. London and Boston, 1765-1828

The first volume is the second edition, published in London 1765. The second volume is the Boston edition of 1767, and the third volume is the only edition, and is in the original cloth, uncut, which was published by the author's grandson in London, 1828. The first two volumes are from the library of James Hamilton, Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania, with his autograph on each title and bookplate of Wm. Hamilton, of the Woodlands.

INDIANS. An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest, And into the Measures taken for recovering their Friendship. Extracted from the Public Treaties and other Authentic Papers relating to the Transactions of the Government of Pensilvania and the said Indians for near Forty Years; and explained by a Map of the Country. Together with the remarkable Journal of Christian Frederic Post, by whose Negotiations, among the Indians on the Ohio, they were withdrawn from the Interest of the French, who thereupon abandoned the Fort and Country. With notes by the editor, explaining sundry Indian customs, &c., with the map. 8vo, half calf, top edges trimmed, others uncut.

London, 1759

Written by Chas. Thomson. From the library of James Hamilton, Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania, with his autograph on title and numerous manuscript notes by him throughout on the margins. These notes add considerable to the value of this copy, as Governor Hamilton was very familiar with all facts.

JUAN, GEORGE AND ULLOA, ANTONIA DE. A Voyage to South America, describing at large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, etc., on that extensive Continent. Interspersed throughout with Reflections on the Genius, Customs, Manners and Trade of the Inhabitants. Undertaken by command of his Majesty the King of Spain. *With folding maps and plates.* 2 vols. 8vo, old calf. London, 1758

With the signature of Governor James Hamilton on the title, and with the bookplate of William Hamilton, of the "Woodlands."

KEITH, SIR WM. The History of the British Plantations in America, with a Chronological Account of the most remarkable Things which happened to the first Adventurers in their several Discoveries of that New World. Part I containing the History of Virginia, with Remarks on the Trade and Commerce of that colony, *with the two folding maps.* 4to, original calf. London, 1738

All published. The copy belonged to Wm. Hamilton, of the Woodlands, and has his autograph and bookplate.

LAHONTAN, BARON. *New Voyages to North-America*, containing An Account of the several Nations of that vast Continent; their Customs, Commerce, and way of Navigation upon the Lakes and Rivers; the several attempts of the English and French to dispossess one another; with the Reasons of the Miscarriage of the former; and the various Adventures between the French and the Iroquese Confederates of England from 1683 to 1694. A Geographical Description of Canada, and a Natural History of the country, with Remarks upon their Government, and the Interest of the English and French in their Commerce, also a Dialogue between the author and a General of the Savages, giving a full view of the Religion and Strange Opinions of those People, with an Account of the author's Retreat to Portugal and Denmark, and his Remarks on those Courts. To which is added a Dictionary of the Algonkin Language, which is generally spoken in North-America. *Illustrated* with 23 maps and cuts. The Second Edition.
2 vols. 8vo, contemporary calf. London, 1735

Fine copy. From the library of James Hamilton, Colonial Governor of Pennsylvania, with autograph on title and bookplate of Wm. Hamilton, of the Woodlands.

LEWIS, MERIWETHER. *The Travels of Capts. Lewis and Clarke*, by order of the Government of the United States, performed in the Years 1804, 1805 and 1806. Being upwards of three thousand Miles, from St. Louis, by way of the Missouri, and Columbia Rivers, to the Pacifick Ocean. *Lacks the map, but has the portraits of the Indian chiefs. One page of text imperfect.* 12mo, sheep. Philadelphia, 1809

LIGON, RICHARD. *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, Illustrated with a Mapp of the Island, as also the Principall Trees and Plants there, set forth in their due Proportions and Shapes, drawne out by their severall and respective scales. Together with the Ingenio that makes the Sugar, with the Plots of the severall Houses, Roomes, and other places, that are used in the whole processe of Sugar making: viz., the Grinding-room, the Boyling-house, the Filling-room, the Curing-house, Still-house, and Furnaces. *All cut in copper, with the map and all the plates.* Folio, contemporary calf.

London, Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1657

Very scarce. Wormeaten on the edges, with bookplate of Wm. Hamilton of the Woodlands.

MILLAR'S AMERICAN GAZETTEER, containing a distinct account of all the Parts of the New World, their Situation, Climate, Soil Produce, Former and Present Condition; Commodities, Manufactures and Commerce. Together with an accurate Account of the Cities, Towns, Posts, Bays, Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Passes and Fortifications. The whole intended to exhibit the Present State of Things in that Part of the Globe, and the Views and Interests of the several Powers who have Possessions in America. *Illustrated with proper maps.* 3 vols. 12mo, old calf, rebound.

London, 1762

From the library of Wm. Hamilton, of the Woodlands, Philadelphia, with his bookplate on each volume and presentation on titles. The work is much sought after on account of the accuracy of the maps and information about the European colonies in America.

(PAINE, THOMAS) Common Sense; addressed to the Inhabitants of America on the following interesting subjects: I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in General. * * * II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession. III. Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs. IV. Of the Present Ability of America, with some Miscellaneous Reflection.

8vo, half bound.

R. Bell: Philadelphia, 1776

The rare First Edition. Has bound with it Plain Truths addressed to the Inhabitants of America (by Geo. Chalmers), Philadelphia, R. Bell, 1776; and The True Interest of America Impartially Stated in certain strictures on a pamphlet entitled Common Sense, Philadelphia, 1776.

Wm. Hamilton's (of the Woodlands) copy, with autograph and bookplate.

SMITH, SAMUEL. The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey, containing an Account of its First Settlement, Progressive Improvements, the Original and Present Constitution, and other Events to the year 1721, with some particulars since, and a short view of its Present State.

8vo, half calf. Burlington, in New Jersey: Printed and sold by James Parker; sold also by David Hall, in Philadelphia, 1765.

Fine clean copy. Very rare. The upper and side margins have been trimmed, but the lower margin is full, size measuring 8 13-16 x 5 3-16 inches. Bears the signature of William Hamilton, of the "Woodlands," on the title.

SMITH, WILLIAM. The History of the Province of New-York, from the First Discovery to the year M.DCC.XXXII. To which is annexed a Description of the Country, with a short Account of the Inhabitants, their Trade, Religions and Political State, and the Constitution of the Courts of Justice in that Colony, with the large folding view of Oswego. 4to, original half calf. London, 1757

Fine copy of the rare First Edition, with the folding view in perfect condition. This copy belonged to Wm. Hamilton of the Woodlands, and has his signature on title.

(STORCK, WILLIAM). An Account of East-Florida, with a Journal, kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia, Botanist to his Majesty for the Floridas, upon a Journey from St. Augustine up the River St. John's. 8vo, half sheep. London, 1766

With signature of William Hamilton, of the "Woodlands," on title, and with his book-plate. Fine copy. Scarce.

May 29, 1964

No new information has been discovered except the fact that William Hamilton corresponded with George Washington about using "coloured cements" for paving to imitate tile or flag, involving an artisan named only as Mr. Turner. This was in January and April of 1784. John C. Fitzpatrick, Letters of George Washington, 1938, V.27 p.303,368.

Mr. Wainwright showed me a reproduction of the 1793 painting by William Greenbridge. It is a romantic landscape with the house rather small in the distance. Since it is the earliest known visual record, it might be useful to request from the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, an 8" X 10" reproduction of just the house with the rest of the picture cropped out.

Mrs. Joseph Carson stated that she has a letter from William Hamilton, about the Woodlands, to Dr. Thomas Parke. She also has an architectural book owned by William Hamilton and a list of his architectural books. Also she has William Birch's Journal which may note the date of the sketch for the Woodlands. plate which was printed in 1808. If Mr. Brumbaugh will call her, after her daughter's wedding, she may allow him to see them.

Mr. Brumbaugh may wish to check the visual material marked *

A complete list of sources checked and not checked inclosed:

Beatrice H. Kirkbride,
Research Assistant
Philadelphia Historical Commission

PREFACE ENDNOTES

1. "Local Affairs, The Cemeteries of Philadelphia--Woodlands Cemetery," Ledger, 26 July 1871. The text uses "spots" instead of cemeteries.

2. Eli Kirk Price, "Journal", 1 July 1876, Private Collection.

A series of events led to the offer to read Eli Kirk Price's Journal. In the spring of 1990, I found and identified the original records of The Woodlands Cemetery Company which dated from 1840 through 1933. I proposed to the treasurer of the company's board that these documents should be donated to an institution for safekeeping. The treasurer authorized me to inquire, within Philadelphia, about the potential for archiving the material. I contacted the American Philosophical Society and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In October 1990, the Board of Directors of The Woodland Cemetery Company approved the donation to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In August 1991, the papers of The Woodlands Cemetery Company were formally accepted by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The treasurer, fully acquainted with my interest in The Woodlands told me about Eli Kirk Price's Journal. I expressed a desire to read it, and he made the arrangements for me to read and transcribe sections from it on two occasions during 1991. The Journal remains in a private collection.

3. Joseph Trimble Rothrock, "Biographical Memoir of the late Honorable Eli K. Price, L.L.D.," (read before the American Philosophical Society, 19 November, 1886), 20.

4. Price, "Journal," 30 May, 1 July 1876.

5. Ibid, 10 May 1876.

6. Ibid, 1 July 1876.

7. Ibid.

INTRODUCTION ENDNOTES

1. E. Digby Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), 181.
2. Tamara Plakins Thornton, Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite, 1785 - 1860 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 22, 202.
3. Elizabeth McLean, "Town and Country Gardens in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," in British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century, ed. Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 141.
4. Sterling M. Boyd, The Adam Style in American, 1770-1820 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985), 369.
5. Therese O'Malley, "Landscape Gardening in the Early National Period," in Views and Visions: American Landscape before 1830, ed. Edward J. Nygren with Bruce Robertson (Washington, D. C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1986), 156.
6. John Andrew Gallery, ed., Philadelphia Architecture, Prepared for the Foundation of Architecture, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1984), 16.
7. Russell F. Weigley, ed., Philadelphia: A 300-Year History (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982), 188-197. See also John Duffy, Epidemics in Colonial America (Baton Rouge: 1953), 78-100, 142-161, 220-230.
8. Sam Bass Warner, Jr., The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 51.
9. Edwin Wolf 2nd, Philadelphia, Portrait of an American City (Philadelphia: Camino Books in cooperation with The Library Company of Philadelphia, 1990), 128.
10. Richard J. Webster, Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), 224-225.

11. Wolf, Philadelphia, 160, 195.

12. First Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park (Philadelphia: King & Baird, printers, 1869), 33. The copy consulted is at The Library Company of Philadelphia.

13. Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 223.

14. The Evening Telegraph, 16 September 1872.

Here the people of all condition in life, whether they be rich or poor, old or young, robust or weak, without entrance fee or charge and without any of the temptations to indulgence in dissipation so common where rural places or resort are dependent for support on the custom of their frequenters, can enjoy a grand expansive park, on which nature has been lavish in bestowing beautiful landscape scenes, rendered doubly charming by views of the placid river which parts its sloping hills; here noble and exquisite works of art distributed on grounds rich in historical associations, galleries of paintings, museums and collections, illustrative of natural history, will gratify the sight and elevate and refine the taste of the masses; here everyone feels conscious of the right to freely use a domain which is the property of the people, and thus ample opportunity for healthful recreation for the body will be combined with a pleasing and delightful education of the mind.

15. Wolf, Philadelphia, 195.

16. McLean, in British and American Gardens, 142.

17. Thomas Jefferson to William Hamilton, Monticello, 7 May 1809, quoted in Jefferson's Garden Book, 411. The full letter is in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Portions not published are of considerable importance in explaining the function of Hamilton's collection for students studying botany at the University of Pennsylvania under Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton.

18. Andrew Jackson Downing, Landscape Gardening, 10th ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1921) 9.

19. Emanuel C. Reigart deposition, 19 September 1831, Hamilton estate, Thomas Cadwalader Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (Hereafter cited as Cadwalader MSS).

20. Samuel Haines survey of The Woodlands estate for James Hamilton, Esq., October 1813, Cadwalader MSS.

21. The Charter, By-laws and Regulations of The Woodlands Cemetery Company (Philadelphia: T. and G. Town, 1845) 3-4.

22. Ibid, 23-24. The Title to the property is recited.

23. Eli K. Price, "The Managers of The Woodlands Cemetery respectfully report to the Corporators," 31 December 1849, 4.

24. The Charter, 1845, 3.

25. Price, "The Managers," 31 December 1849, 5.

26. Eli K. Price, "Report of the Managers to the stockholders," 3 January 1852, 1.

27. Ledger, 26 July 1871.

28. Eli K. Price, "Executive Committee Minutes," 30 June 1847.

29. Ibid.

30. Price, "Report of the Managers," 3 January 1852, 4.

31. Wm. E. Dubois assisted by J. S. Price, comp., "Eli K. Price," in History of Chester County, Pennsylvania, J. Smith Futhy and Gilbert Cope (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1886), 698.

32. Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 227-241. Refer also to Eli K. Price, "Journal", 1 July 1876.

33. Karen Madsen, "To Make His Country Smile: William Hamilton's Woodlands," Arnoldia 49 (Spring 1989): 23.

34. [?]
Jules David Brown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," in Material Life in America, 1600-1860, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northwestern University Press, 1988), 17.

CHAPTER I ENDNOTES

1. George B. Tatum, Penn's Great Town (London, Oxford University Press, 1961), 27.
2. Warner, The Private City, 5.
3. Ibid, 9, 23, 33.
4. Ibid, 8-9.
5. Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 24, 34.
6. Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, 179.
7. McLean, "Town and Country Gardens," 138.
8. John Cornforth, "Fairmount Park, Philadelphia-I," Country Life (January 4, 1973) 18.
9. McLean, "Town and Country Gardening," 139.
10. Peter Martin, "Introduction," in British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century, ed. Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 3.
11. Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Some Aspects of the Social History of Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (hereafter, PMHB) 62 (1938), 283.
12. Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin, (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942), 222.
13. William E. Lingelbach, "Philosophical Hall," in Historic Philadelphia: From the Founding Until the Early Nineteenth Century, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 43, Part 1 (Philadelphia, 1980), 45.
14. Gallery, Philadelphia Architecture, 14.
15. Lingelbach, "Philosophical Hall," 46. William Hamilton, Esq. gave the third largest subscription for the erection of Philosophical Hall. List of scribes was printed in the Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, 8 November, 1786.

16. Wolf, Philadelphia, 72.
17. Boyd, The Adam Style, 112-113.
18. Ibid. See also McLean, "Town and Country Gardens," 144.
19. Boyd, The Adam Style, 113.
20. Ibid, 109-110.
21. Ibid.
22. Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, 222.
23. William Charvot, The Origins of American Critical Thought: 1810-1835 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936), 167.
24. Boyd, The Adam Style, 111.
25. Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 50.
26. Boyd, The Adam Style, 40.
27. Ibid, 33.
28. Ibid.
29. Dugald Stewart, Philosophical Essays (Edinburgh: 1810), "On the Beautiful," 286.
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31. Lord Kames, Henry Home, Elements of Criticism (3 vols.; London: 1762), "On Gardening and Architecture," Vol. III, 341.
32. Ibid.
33. Robert and James Adam, The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam (2 vols.; London: 1773-1779), Vol. I, No. IV, Preface, 1.
34. Ibid, Vol. I, No. I, Preface, 4-5.
35. Ibid, 6-7.

36. Boyd, The Adam Style, 12. For a discussion of British thought see, Walter Hipple, Jr., The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth Century British Aesthetic Theory (Carbondale, Illinois: 1957).
37. Alexander Pope, "Essay from the Guardian (1713)," in The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820, ed. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis (London: Paul Elek, 1975), 205.
38. Peter Martin, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures: The Gardening World of Alexander Pope (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Book, 1984), 5.
39. Adam, The Works, Vol. I, No. I, Preface, 4, 5, n. E.
40. Christopher Hussey, English Country Houses (3 vols.; London: Country Life Limited, 1963), vol. 2, "Mid-Georgian 1760-1800," 11-15.
41. John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, ed., The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1620-1820 (London: Paul Elek, 1975), 7, 8.
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43. Ibid, 34.
44. William A. Brogden, "The Ferme Ornee and Changing Attitudes to Agriculture Improvement," in British and American Gardens, 41.
45. Keith Thomas, Man and The Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 247.
46. Hunt, The Genius of the Place, 17.
47. Thomas, Man and the Natural World, 286.
48. Robert Williams, "Rural Economy and the Antique in the English Landscape Garden," Journal of Garden History, Vol. 7, No. 1, 76-77.
49. Stephen Switzer, "from Ichnographia Rustica (1718 and 1742)," in The Genius of the Place, 157, 163.
50. Ibid, 154.

51. Ibid, 153.

52. Ibid, 152, 156.

53. Ibid, 153.

54. Ibid, 151, 162.

55. Brogden, "The Ferme Ornee," in British and American Gardens, 42.

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57. Christopher Thacker, The History of Gardens (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 202.

58. Ibid, 203.

59. Richard A. Etlin, The Architecture of Death: The Transformation of the Cemetery in Eighteenth-Century Paris (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1987), 176.

60. Ibid.

61. Brogden, "The Ferme Ornee," in British and American Gardens, 41-42.

62. O'Malley, "Landscape Gardening," in Views and Visions, 137.

63. Kames, "On Gardening and Architecture," Vol. III, 339-340.

64. Boyd, Adam Style, 38.

65. Adams, The Works, Vol. I, no. I, 11.

66. Ibid, Vol. II, no. I, expl. to pl. I.

67. Boyd, Adam Style, 29.

68. Ibid.

69. David Watkin, The English Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1982), 79.

70. Hussey, English Country Houses, Vol. 2, 23.

71. Watkin, The English Vision, 79.
72. Switzer, "from Ichnographia Rustica," 154.
73. Hussey, English Country Houses, Vol. 2, 13.
74. Adam, The Works, Vol. I, no I, Preface, 1, n. A.
75. Michael McCarthy, "Eighteenth Century Amateur Architects and their Gardens," in Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture II, ed. Nikolas Pevsner (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974), 34.
76. Humphry Repton, "Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening," in The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the late Humphry Repton, Esq., ed. J. C. Loudon (London: printed for the editor, 1840), 121, n. 53.
77. Ibid, 266-267.
78. Hussey, English Country Houses, Vol. 2, 22.
79. Repton, "Observations," 266.
80. Ibid, 51.
81. Ibid, 268.
82. Watkin, The English Vision, 81.
83. William Chambers, A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening (London 1772; re-printed 1972), v.
84. Watkin, The English Vision, 67.
85. Thacker, The History of Gardens, 211.
86. Mavis Batey, "The High Phase of English Landscape Gardening," in British and American Gardens, 47-49.
87. Watkin, The English Vision, 80.
88. Hunt, The Genius of the Place, 31.
89. Repton, "Sketches and Hints," in The Landscape Gardening, 87.
90. Thacker, The History of Gardens, 227.

91. Andrew Jackson Downing, Landscape Gardening, 10th ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1921), Original Preface, viii.
92. Hussey, English Country Houses, Vol. 2, 10.
93. Ibid, 15-26.
94. Boyd, Adam Style, 51.
95. Watkin, The English Vision, 30.
96. Hussey, English Country Houses, Vol 2, 26.
97. Pierre de la Ruffiniere du Prey, John Soane, The Making of an Architect (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 245-264.
98. Boyd, Adam Style, 86.
99. Hussey, English Country Houses, Vol. 2, 25-26.
100. John Plaw, Ferne Ornee; or Rural Improvements (London: I. and J. Taylor, 1795), title page.
101. John Plaw, Sketches for Country Houses, Villas, and Rural Dwellings; Calculated for Persons of Moderate Income, and for Comfortable Retirement (London: S. Gosnell, 1800), preface, 4.
102. Ibid, footnote.
103. Boyd, Adam Style, 211-214.
104. James D. Kornwolf, "the picturesque in the American garden and landscape before 1800," in British and American Gardens, 100.
105. Patricia Heintzelman, "Elysium on the Schuylkill: William Hamilton's Woodlands," (masters thesis, University of Delaware, 1972), 7-8.
106. Watkin, The English Vision, 72. See also "Thomas Whately" in The Genius of the Place, 301.
107. Ann Leighton, American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 147. William Hamilton's copy of Whately's publication is inscribed with Hamilton's name and the date 1785. This would appear

to indicate Hamilton purchased his copy upon arriving in England and prior to his tours into the countryside. Hamilton's copy is in the collection of The Library Company of Philadelphia.

108. Boyd, Adam Style, 98.

109. Ibid, 213, 269.

110. Barbara Wells Sarudy, "A Late Eighteenth Century 'Tour' of Baltimore Gardens," in Journal of Garden History, vol. 9, no. 3 (1989): 129.

111. O'Malley, "Landscape Gardening," Views and Visions, 137.

112. Anne Leighton, American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 362-63.

113. Cornforth, "Fairmount Park" in Country Life, 18.

114. Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), anonymous quotation, 87.

115. Thomas Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening, 3rd ed. (London: printed for T. Payne, 1771), 2. The passage says that scenes are composed of four elements, 'ground, wood, water, and rocks, all of which were present along the Schuylkill River's banks. This edition was the one in William Hamilton's possession.

116. The first portion of the quote is from C. F. Adams, ed., The Works of John Adams (Boston, 1865), III, 395. The last portion is from Jefferson to John Rutledge and Thomas Lee Shippen. Quoted in Fiske Kimball, "Beginnings of Landscape Architecture in America," Landscape Architecture 42 (July 1917): 184.

117. Francis Bailey, Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 and 1797, ed. Jack D. L. Holmes (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Illinois, 1969), 29.

118. John M. Dickey and Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd, "Historic Structures Report: Mount Pleasant," (for Fairmount Park Council for Historic Sites, 1987), 18-21.

119. Plaw, Sketches, preface, [3].

120. "To be Lett, or Sold, by John Macpherson," Pennsylvania Gazette, 19 January 1769, Number 2090.
121. Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 41.
122. McLean, "Town and Country Gardens," in British and American Gardens, 141.
123. Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 41.
124. Mark Arnold Bower, "Loudon" (masters thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1984), 7.
125. Plaw, Sketches, title page.
126. Boyd, Adam Style, 369-70.
127. Thompson Westcott, The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Walter H. Barr, 1895), 438.
128. Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 239.
129. O'Malley, "Landscaping Gardening," in Views and Visions, 143.
130. John Nancarrow, Plan of the Seat of John Penn Junr. . . (c. 1784), society collection, HSP.
131. Richard J. Betts, "The Woodlands," Winterthur Portfolio, Vol. 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1979): 213. From 1787 until 1813, William Hamilton's country seat remained a show-place.
132. Identity withheld by request, diary, 2 Nov. 1806, 57, private collection (hereafter cited as Diary, 2 Nov. 1806). See also Oliver Oldschool, Esq., "American Scenery--for the Port Folio, The Woodlands," Port Folio, n. s. 2, no. 6 (December 1809): 505-07. On page 505, the author wrote:
- The grounds, which occupy an extent of nearly ten acres, are laid out with uncommon taste; and in construction of the edifice solidity and elegance and combined.
133. Thomas Jefferson to William Hamilton, July 1806, in Edwin M. Betts, ed., Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book, 1766-1824 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944), 322-24.

134. Betts, "The Woodlands," 217.

135. Francois Andre Michaux's 1802 description of The Woodlands and its "magnificent garden" is in Westcott, Historic Mansions, 424-425.

136. William Birch, The Country Seats of the United States of North America (Springland, PA: by the author, 1808, unpagd.

137. Thomas Twining, Travels In North America 100 Years Ago (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1894), 162-165.

138. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 505. See also "Notes and Queries: Visit of the Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler to William Hamilton at The Woodlands," PMHB 8, no. 1 (1884): 110.

139. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, 15 June Sunday, Society Miscellaneous Collection, HSP. Quoted in Betts, "Woodlands," 216-217. Betts suggests the date of 1788 for the letter saying June 15. Fell on Sunday in that year. However, Sunday June 15 also occurred in 1794, 1800 and 1806 all of which are reasonable since it is known that the unfinished oval room was mentioned in a diary as late as 1806.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. Twining, Travels in North America, 163.

145. Diary, 2 Nov. 1806, 58.

146. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 506-7.

147. Diary, 2 Nov. 1806, 58-60.

148. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 507.

149. Diary, 2 Nov. 1806, 59.

150. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, Society MSS.

151. Diary, 2 Nov. 1806, 60. Hamilton's use of ovals within his dwelling and within the landscape further indicate his intent to harmoniously blend interior and exterior spaces. There is a sense of counterpoint. The exterior oval beds of exotics were perceived as a filled form whereas the oval room was experienced as open oval compartment defined by a built envelope.

152. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, Society MSS.

153. Repton. "Sketches and Hints," in Landscape Gardening, 87.

154. Repton, "Theory and Practise, &c.," in Landscape Gardening, 213.

155. William Hamilton to Benjamin Hayes Smith, Lancaster, n. d., filed after 6 February 1789, Dr. George Smith collection, HSP. (Hereafter cited as Smith MSS).

I would have [George] Hilton dig a piece of Border on the East side of the House somewhere about the front of the paper birch or double peach. It should be french dug & three or four Inches thickness or fine mould put on the surface & they [exotic bulbous roots] should be planted as six or eight Inches from each other & about 5 or 6 inches deep taking care to preserve the distinctions of the sorts which can be easily done as they were all laid in ranges by themselves. I desire George when he is about it will put the Ranunculus roots in the same Bed in the same manner.

Hamilton to Smith, Sorrel Horse, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

I would have you mark all the Polianthos snow drops in the Bord'rs of the Ice H. Hill walk & direct George to attend to ripening of the seeds so as to save them. By the time he has done all this Conrod will be ready to go with him to the Ice House Hill walk & ye borders on ye walk leading to it which should be dress'd the Borders first in the best manner possible for preserving all the plants.

156. Thacker, The History of Gardens, 234-35.

157. Repton, "Theory and Practice, &c.--Advertisement," in Landscape Gardening, 121.

166. John Plaw, Rural Architecture Or Designs, From The Simple Cottage To The Decorated Villa (London: J. Taylor, 1785).

167. John Soane, Plans, Elevations & Sections of Buildings (London: 1788), Preface, 11.

168. William Hamilton, to Dr. Thomas Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton Collection, vol. 45, no. 111, 4, HSP (hereafter cited as Pemberton MSS).

169. Betts, "The Woodlands," 266.

170. Ibid.

171. Thomas Nevell, account book, n. d., 5 September 1784 and 12 October 1784, Wetherill Papers, special collections of the Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.

172. Robert C. Smith, "Two Centuries Of Philadelphia Architecture, 1700-1900," in Historic Philadelphia. 296.

173. Repton, "Inquiry into the Changes of Taste, &c.," in Landscape Gardening, 330. A "cheerful lawn" according to Repton corresponds to the park lawn which is "fed [fertilized] by cattle." A "melancholy lawn" is the garden lawn which is "kept by the roller and the scythe."

174. Betts, "The Woodlands," 221.

175. Repton, "Theories and Practise," 151, 276.

176. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, society MSS. See also Charles E. Peterson's Site Report, 8 August 1984 and John Dickey's "HSR, The Saloon of The Woodlands," 25.

177. Diary, 2 Nov. 1806, 54.

178. Ibid.

179. Ibid, 60-61.

180. Edward Teitelman and Richard W. Longstreth, Architecture in Philadelphia: A Guide (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1974. Quoted in Julius Trousdale Sadler, Jr. and Jacquelin D. J. Sadler, American Stables An Architectural Tour (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1981), 45.

181. Repton, "Sketches," 53.

182. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 507.

183. Heintzelman, "Elysium on the Schuylkill," 33.

184. James Mease, The Picture of Philadelphia (Philadelphia: B. & T. Kite, 1811), 348. See also Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 507.

These improvements, it is said, fill up the leisure, and form the most agreeable occupation of its possessor; and that he may long live to pursue this refined pleasure, must be the wish of the public at large, for to them so much liberality has ever been shown in the free access to the house and grounds, that of the enjoyment of the fruits of his care and cultivated taste, it may truly be said, 'Non sibi sed aliis.'

See also "obituary," Poulsons Daily Advertiser, 8 June 1813.

His noble mansion was for many years the resort of a very numerous circle of friends and acquaintances.

In addition see Eliza C. Harrison, ed., Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope (South Bend, Indiana: Gateway Editions, 1978), 160.

August 30th [1804] a family visit to the elegant seat of William Hamilton near Gray's on the west bank of the Schuylkill. It is a place of much public resort.

185. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Ferdinand Dreer Collection, HSP. (Hereafter cited as Dreer MSS).

CHAPTER II ENDNOTES

1. Blockley Township, "County Tax Assessment Ledger," 1789, William Hamilton, Philadelphia Municipal Archives.
2. Samuel Haines Survey of The Woodlands for James Hamilton, October 1813, T. Cadwalader MSS.
3. "To be Let at The Woodlands," Pennsylvania Packet, 9 January 1788.
4. William Hamilton to William Tilghman, Jr., Woodlands, April 1779, Society Collection, HSP (Hereafter cited as Society MSS).
5. "Bounds of Stephen Jackson's tract of 250 acres," T. Cadwalader MSS. Several hand drawn survey maps and a conveyance recital beginning 3 July 1704 through 15 January 1745 are contained within the legal folder.
6. Ibid.
7. "Lancaster Estate," Judge John Cadwalader, Hamilton Legal, HSP (Hereafter cited as J. Cadwalader MSS). See also Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 14 July 1784, Yeates MSS.
8. Westcott, Historic Mansions, 417.
9. Charles P. Keith, The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania...and their Descendants (Philadelphia: 1883), 130.
10. Emanuel C. Reigart, deposition, T. Cadwalader MSS.
11. Keith, The Provincial Councillors, 134.
12. Henry Simpson, The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, now Deceased (Philadelphia: William Brotherhead, 1859), 482. See also Lillian B. Miller, ed., The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and his family (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 920, n. 5.
13. Keith, The Provincial Councillors, 134.
14. Joshua Francis Fisher, "Andrew Hamilton, Esq., of Pennsylvania," in PMHB, Vol. XVI, no. 1 (1892): 13.

15. Will, 1747, no. 187, Andrew Hamilton (II), 27 August 1747, Philadelphia Municipal Archives.
16. Ibid, 135.
17. Ibid.
18. "Bounds of Stephen Jackson's Tract," T. Cadwalader MSS.
19. Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt van Dyke Hubbard, Portrait of a Colonial City: Philadelphia, 1670-1838 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939), 448-50. No evidence was cited by the authors to support this assertion and no documentary information has been found by any of the historical architects who have worked on restoration that suggest Andrew Hamilton (II) constructed a summer home on The Woodlands plantation. It is, in fact, unlikely he did since a messuage already stood on the site and it along with fifty acres surrounding it was not released by Stephen Jackson's sister, Priscilla Williams until July 4, 1746. Andrew Hamilton's death a year and three months after this conveyance date, in September 1747 argues against the completion of a major building campaign.

It was also reported that when William Hamilton hosted his class graduation fete at The Woodlands in 1762, "his entertainment was necessarily spread in a temporary building." This would suggest that the dwelling which was on the plantation was too small for even a small dinner party. It is more plausible to consider that William Hamilton was responsible for rebuilding and expanding the old Stephen Jackson messuage in several phases after 1762. Certainly, constant architectural experimentation and adjustment was a typical occupation of young, educated and wealthy men such as he was.

20. G. Edwin Brumbaugh, "Preliminary Restoration Report no. 1, South Portico, The Woodlands" (28 April 1965), 6.
21. Dickey and Lloyd, "HSR, Mt. Pleasant," 9-10.
22. Dickey and Engle, "HSR, the Saloon of The Woodlands," 46-50.
23. "Bounds of Stephen Jackson's tract," T. Cadwalader MSS.
24. Brumbaugh, "Preliminary report," 6.
25. Dickey and Lloyd, "HSR, Mt. Pleasant," 104.

26. Blockley Township, "County Tax Assessment Ledger," 1779.
27. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.

"To live in the country without Horses is next to impossible. Fewer than four for a carriage, a saddle Horse for myself, some for a servant will hardly do for the distance from town.

See also Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 13 June 1789, Smith MSS.

The Hay at The Woodlands should as much as will go therein be put into ye stable Lofts & ye remainder it should be put into a round stack out of the way of the new stable. Whatever is mowable on the Ice H. Hill or elsewhere & hawled by Miller should be cut for god knows we shall be in want of it.

28. Hamilton to Smith, Downings, 9 January 1788, Smith MSS.

You should also remind him of getting somebody to cut faggots of which we are so much in need. See to Hart's or Geo. Walter's taking dung over every time they go to The Woodlds. for Wood.

See also Hamilton to Smith, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

You should yourself go & mark two or three dead trees for fuel or the wood will suffer as usual. There is a large dead tree I shew'd him the other day just below the Ice House to the north west it must be cut however below the ground.

29. Will, 1747, no. 187, Andrew Hamilton (II), 27 August 1747.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Will, 1783, no. 237, James Hamilton, 14 August 1783.

34. Diploma, "Baccalaureatus, Collegii et Academiae Philadelphiensis," William Hamilton, 18 May 1762, Andrew and James Hamilton Papers, HSP. (Hereafter cited as Hamilton MSS.

35. Ibid.

36. Boyd, Adam Style, 112.

37. William Turner, "The College, Academies and Charitable School of Philadelphia: the Development of a Colonial Institution of Learning, 1740-1779" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1952), 232-240.

38. William L. Turner, "The Charity School, the Academy, and the College," in Historic Philadelphia. 182.

39. Refer to the Henkel's Auction Catalog, 1920. 39-130. See also Sophia Cadwalader, ed., Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher written in 1864 (Boston: privately printed, 1929), 222.

His house had no room appropriated for books, & I supposed there was no library, but when it [The Woodlands] was sold & about to be dismantled, certain triangular closets, & others with shelves, which had been entirely covered with pictures, were opened, which appeared to be filled with a pretty large collection. Some of them were rare and valuable, collected by Governor Hamilton, and some which had been bought by his Father [Andrew I], the attorney general.

40. Benjamin H. Smith, "Some Letters from William Hamilton of The Woodlands, to his Private Secretary," PMHB 29, no. 1 (1905): 76, Fn. 3. The footnote said that the list accompanied the collection of letters but examination of the manuscript files revealed, unfortunately, that the list is now missing.

41. "At Bush Hill on next Thursday," Pennsylvania Packet, 28 September 1784.

42. Hamilton to Smith, from the ship, "The Portland," 8 October 1784, Smith Collection.

Mrs. Bonds two books i.e. [Philip] Millers [Gardener's] dict'y & Willoughby on birds should be returned also Halfpenny's architecture [William & John Halfpenny who published at least six architecture books between 1750-1759] should be given to Mr. Penn as a book belonging to Dr. Smith, Cummings Books should be returned. My Edition of the Abbe Raynal [Treatment of America] is at Mr.

Lambert Cadwaladers in Trentown. It should be asked & reason given that the loan of it is promised to some one else.

43. Ibid.

44. William Hamilton to Jasper Yeates, Bush Hill, 13 September 1787, Yeates Papers, HSP. (Hereafter cited as Yeates MSS).

45. Dickey and Engle, "HSR, the Saloon," 46. Dickey attributes them to Andrew Hamilton (II) but a letter from William Hamilton to George Washington, in 1784, indicates William added the feature in 1764. From the standpoint of architectural development in Philadelphia, the 1764 addition is more plausible.

46. William Hamilton to George Washington, Bush Hill, 20 February 1784, the Washington papers, The Library of Congress. (Hereafter cited as Washington MSS). Humphry Repton, in "theory & practise, &c.," says that "large recesses, or bays, sometimes called bowre-windows, are now bow-windows."

47. James Paine, Plans, Elevation, Sections and other Ornaments (London: printed for the author, 1751), dedication page. Paine wrote another architectural book in 1767 titled Plans, Elevations & Sections of Noblemen & Gentlemens' Houses. James and his brother William continued to publish architectural books with their last joint effort, The British Palladio, appearing in 1786.

48. Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 41. William Hamilton's aunt married William Allen, the Provincial Chief-Justice. Their daughter, William's cousin, married John Penn who built Lansdowne. See The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania, 145.

49. Brumbaugh, "Preliminary Report, South Portico," 4-6.

50. Invoice, "to repaiering paving &c. for compesetion under Piazza," The Woodlands household accounts, Smith MSS.

51. Hamilton to Washington, 20 February 1784, Washington MSS.

52. "Visit of the Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler to William Hamilton," PMHB 8, 109-110.

53. Ibid.

54. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 506.
55. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, Society MSS.
56. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 506.
57. "179 acres of John Chandler & wife to James Hamilton" and "12 acres of Liberty Land formerly of Peter Gardiner," land extracts, file folder II, T. Cadwalader MSS.
58. Smith, "some letters," PMHB 29, 76, fn. 3.
59. Hamilton to Tilghman, Society MSS.
60. Warner, Private City, 24.
61. Henry D. Biddle, ed., Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker from 1759 to 1807, A. D. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1889), 110. See also Colonial Records: Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg: 1853), 161.2: 495, 499, 502, 549, 632; 13: 559, 698.
62. Hamilton to Tilghman, Society MSS.
63. Ibid.
64. Blockley Township, "County Tax." 1779, William Hamilton.
65. Warner, Private City, 25.
66. Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750-1800," in Material Life in America, 244, 249, 251.
67. Colonial Records, Vol. 12 and 13.
68. "Petitions for Delay in Departure," William Hamilton, 17 October 1780, Society MSS.
69. "To Be Let, the Elegant Seat The Woodlands," Pennsylvania Packet, 28 October, 1780.
70. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 358-59. The text gives a general view of the disruption of correspondence and other printed communication.

71. Blockley Township, "County Tax," 1779-1783, William Hamilton.
72. Ibid, 1780 and 1783.
73. "Darby to Lancaster Road," 21 March 1781, Society MSS.
74. Hamilton to Tilghman, Society MSS.
75. Warner, Private City, 25.
76. "To be Let (and entered upon immediately)," Pennsylvania Packet, 14 May 1782.
77. Ibid.
78. Leighton, American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century, 155. See also John W. Harshberger, "Additional letters of Humphry Marshall, botanist and nurseryman," PMHB 53 (1929): 269-282.
79. Thomas Parke to Humphry Marshall, Philadelphia, 5 September 1782, Dreer MSS. William Hamilton introduced Marshall's Arbustum Americanum, the American Grove to his English friends in London soon after it was printed in 1785. See Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. William Hamilton to Humphry Marshall, The Woodl'ds, 3 May 1799, Dreer MSS.
83. Westcott, Historic Mansions, 420. See also Keith, The Provincial Councillors, 134.
84. Keith, The Provincial Councillors, 134.
85. Will, 1783, no. 237, James Hamilton. Bush Hill had an extensive greenhouse. It was mentioned in William Hamilton's letter to George Washington, Bush Hill, 20 February 1784. "to this, I at length consented, and he undertook to make a variegated floor in my Green House." When William Hamilton prepared to sail for England and was disposing of the contents of the Bush Hill estate, "a few green house plants" were included in 28 September 1784 Pennsylvania Packet advertisement. Images of Bush Hill with its Green House appeared in the New York Magazine, 1793, engraved by Tiebout

after J. Hoffman. A more detailed engraving was made by James P. Malcolm (Castner Collection).

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 14 July 1784, Yeates MSS.

89. Ibid.

90. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November, 1785, Dreer MSS.

As I can by no means afford to live at Bush Hill, I shall be under the necessity of adding to the House & building Offices at The Woodlands. Altho the state of my finances will not allow me to do much at present, the improvements must necessarily be gradual. It will be proper to fix on some general plan for the whole.

91. Westcott, Historic Mansions, 438. See also Kornwolf, "The Picturesque," in British and American Gardens, 100.

92. Hamilton to Smith, 8 October 1784, Smith MSS. William and John Halfpenny Chinese and Gothic Architecture Properly Ornamented, (1752), The Country Gentleman's Pocket Companion and Builder's Assistant for Rural Decorative Architecture, (1753), A New and Complete System of Architecture, (1759) and The Modern Builders Assistant, (date uncertain).

93. Nevell, account book, day and month missing, 1784, Wetherill MSS.

94. "For work done at his house--viz.," 1784-1785, building accounts, William Hamilton, Esq., Smith MSS.

95. Ibid.

96. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS. Hamilton refers to another letter sent to Thomas Parke on 2 February 1786 which is not extant but possibly one of the letters which Marian Carson has stated are in here private collection.

97. Hamilton to Washington, 8 February 1784, Washington MSS.

98. George Washington to William Hamilton, Monticello, 15 January 1784, Feinstone Collection, The American Philosophical Society. (Hereafter cited as Feinstone MSS. and APS respectively).

99. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 9 June 1784, Yeates MSS.

100. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 26 May 1784, Yeates MSS.

101. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 14 April 1784, Yeates MSS.

102. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 10 April and 30 August 1784, Yeates MSS.

103. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 30 August 1784, Yeates MSS.

104. Yeates to Hamilton, Reading, 7 June 1784 and Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 10 April 1784, Yeates MSS.

105. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 9 June 1784, Yeates MSS. Hamilton also refers to another of his Uncle James' debts of "L 1000 sterling in favor of W. Allen," William's cousin who had his American property confiscated in 1778 and, at the time, resided in London. (See Keith, Provincial Councillors, 145).

106. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 30 August 1784, Yeates MSS.

107. Hamilton to Parke, London, 1 December 1784, Society MSS. This letter and several others were incorporated into this collection from the Harrold E. Gillingham Collection as may be cited in earlier texts.

108. Hamilton to Parke, London, 25 February 1785, Pemberton MSS. See also Hamilton to Parke, London, 28 July 1785, Society MSS (Gillingham).

109. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September and 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

110. Ibid, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

111. Hamilton to Smith, "The Portland," 8 October 1784, PMHB 29, 71. The Benjamin Hayes Smith letters that were published in PMHB were heavily edited and many vital sections were left out. From this point forward citations will be to the actual letters and noted as Smith MSS.

112. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS. See also Hamilton to Smith, London 2 November 1785, Smith MSS.

113. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

114. Hamilton to Parke and separately to Smith, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer and Smith MSS, respectively.

115. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

116. Hamilton to Smith, New Bond Street, 21 February 1785, McAllister Collection, The Library Company manuscripts housed at HSP. (Hereafter cited as McAllister MSS).

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. Captain John Willet, the "Harmony," 22 February 1785, Smith MSS. This shipping declaration contains Hamilton's plants listed in his letter to B. H. Smith 21 February 1785. A notation on the declaration clearly states that from Hamilton's shipment "a box [is to be] directed to the Honble John Penn Junr."

120. William Hamilton was regarded as a superb plantsman as early as 1782 when Dr. Thomas Parke, in a letter to Humphry Marshall on September 5th, said:

His knowledge of Botany and Natural history--his taste for cultivating the many curious productions of America will gain him a welcome reception.

121. Hamilton to Smith, New Bond Street, 21 February 1785, McAllister MSS. See also Parke to Marshall, Philadelphia, 27 April 1785, Dreer MSS.

In answer to thine of yesterday, I now inform thee I received by the Harmony Capt. Willet (who arrived a few days ago) two small Parcels one from R. Barclay & the other from W. Hamilton which the bearer undertakes to deliver. W. Hamilton has sent a number of curious Flowering Shrubs & Forest trees to be transplanted at his Seat on the Schuylkill & his gardner [Wm. Thomson] informs me that most of them are healthy & appear likely to live.

See also Capt. Woolman Sutton, the "Pigou," 17 February 1785, declaration, William Hamilton, Smith MSS. Hamilton shipped

"fifteen baskets & two cases" in addition to what was sent on the "Harmony."

122. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS. See also receipt, Anthony Kite to William Hamilton, 21 April 1786 for "fifteen shillings in full for 200 young Elm Trees," Smith MSS.

123. Hamilton to Smith London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

124. Ibid.

125. Hamilton to Parke, London, 1 December 1785, Society MSS. See also Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS, for Hamilton's "excursions into the country."

126. Hamilton to Parke, London, 25 February 1785, Pemberton MSS.

127. Ibid.

128. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.

129. Hamilton to Parke, London, 28 July 1785, Society MSS. and Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.

130. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Edward Dumbauld, "Jefferson and Adams' English Garden Tour," in Jefferson and the Arts: An Extended View, ed. William Howard Adams (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 137-57.

134. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

135. Refer to Arthur Young, A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales (London, 1768) and A Six Months' Tour through the North of England (London, 1770). Refer also to William Gilpin, Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales &c. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty (London, 1782).

136. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785. Dreer MSS.

I have had leisure to examine it more minutely & great & mighty as it is have left unseen nothing that I have ever heard of as worthy of notice. At every place where I have been I have attended to whatever was most curious, & by the help of my mem'ms, I flatter myself, The impressions I receiv'd will not easily be effaced.

137. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785. Dreer MSS. When Hamilton wrote that "England as a country is an Elysium, "He, no doubt, was convinced that England had achieved the unification of the Virgilian Elysian Fields and the fruitful plains of the Golden Age. America by contrast was still an untamed wilderness but, Hamilton was determined that it should not remain so.

138. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

139. Hamilton to Parke, London, 25 February 1785, Pemberton MSS.

140. Hamilton to Parke, London, 1 December 1784, Society MSS.

141. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 20 March 1788, Yeates MSS.

An immediate call for L 20 sterling for the support of my nephews, which I must remit to England by the packet which will leave N. York on ye 3d. of April.

See also Twining, Travels in America, 164.

For the attentions I received from Mr. Hamilton I was indebted to the friendly civilities of his two nephews, who had been sent to England for their education, and were under the care of John Franks, Esquire, of Isleworth, my father's next-door neighbor; and thus during the holidays the young Americans were our playfellows.

See also Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 10 March 1787, Yeates MSS.

142. Hamilton to Parke, London, 28 July 1785, Society MSS. See also Hamilton to Parke, London, 22 August 1785.

Were it not for Ann, (to whom leaving this country just now would be an irreparable injury) I should not hesitate to make my passage.

143. Hamilton to Parke, London, 25 February 1785, Pemberton MSS.
144. Will, Andrew Hamilton (III), 21 December 1784, Harry B. Pearce Collection, HSP. Andrew's children, who remained in Philadelphia, were Margaret, Mary, Franks and Rebecca.
145. Hamilton to Parke, London, 28 July 1785, Society MSS.
146. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.
147. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.
148. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.
149. Hamilton no doubt saw Bowood while in Wiltshire and certainly would have visited Stowe when in Buckinghamshire. Both were renowned for their architecture and landscape gardens.
150. See Ruffiniere du Prey, John Soane, 29.
151. Plaw, Sketches, preface.
152. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.
153. John Soane, Plans, Elevations & Sections, 11.
154. Plaw, Sketches, preface.
155. Ibid.
156. Ibid.
157. Nevell, account book, day and month missing, 1784, Wetherill MSS.
158. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785. Dreer MSS.
159. Ibid.
160. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785. Smith MSS.
161. Ibid.
162. Betts, "The Woodlands," 226.
163. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785. Smith MSS.

164. Hamilton to Parke, London, 22 August 1785. Society MSS. See also Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS. In addition, refer to Michael P. Kinch, "The Meteoric Career of William Young, Jr. (1742-1785), Pennsylvania Botanist to the Queen," in PMHB 110, no. 3 (July 1986) 359-388.

165. Ibid.

166. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

167. Ibid.

168. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

169. Thomas Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening, 2.

170. Jefferson to Hamilton, Monticello, 7 May 1809, Jefferson MSS. See also Jefferson to Hamilton, Washington, July 1806, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as LC). This letter is quoted, except for a margin note, in its entirety in Betts, Jefferson's Garden Book, 322-324.

171. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.

172. Hamilton to Parke, London, 28 July 1785, Society MSS.

173. Ibid.

174. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

175. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.

176. The Articles of Confederation were considered weak by many. Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, 86.

177. Hamilton to Parke, London, 1 December 1784, Society MSS.

178. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

179. Thornton, Cultivating Gentlemen, 25-26. See also Nicholas Biddle, Address delivered before the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture (Philadelphia: The Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, 1822), 27.

180. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid. Hamilton told Parke he was sending over

"a coachman, a groom, a gardener, & a boy or two by Captn. Cooper who sails in a British Bottom for New York on the 20th inst. [March 1786] & have them landed in [New] Jersey.

183. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.

184. Jefferson to Hamilton, Washington, 1 March 1808, Jefferson Papers, LC. Refer to Jefferson's Garden Book, 365-366.

Your collection is really a noble one, & in making & attending to it you have deserved well of your country.

See also Jefferson to Hamilton, Washington, July 1806, Jefferson Papers, LC. Refer to Jefferson's Garden Book, 323-324.

I sat down to thank you for kindnesses received, & to bespeak permission to ask further contributions from your collection & I have written you a treatise on gardening generally, in which art lessons would come with more justice from you to me.

185. Westcott, Historic Mansions, 425. Michaux was quoted earlier in J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884) vol. II, "Manners and Customs, 1700-1800," 873.

186. Frederick Pursh, John Lyon, John McArann all worked for William Hamilton after 1800. Refer to Blockley Township, "County Tax Assessment Ledger," 1802-1809, William Hamilton. See also John W. Harshberger, The Botanists of Philadelphia and Their Work (Philadelphia: Press of T. C. Davis & Sons, 1899), 113-114.

A. D'Arras who was a scientific gardener and operated "the largest public garden about the city" had worked at The Woodlands in 1826 repairing the greenhouse prior to the estate sale. He probably purchased many of the greenhouse plants at the time since The Register of Pennsylvania 7, no. 7 (12 February 1831), 107, notes that in D'Arras garden:

may be seen part of the celebrated collection of plants that formerly belonged to William Hamilton, of The Woodlands, and now the property of Mr. D'Arras.

187. Jefferson to Hamilton, Washington, 1 March 1808, Jefferson Papers, LC.
188. Hamilton to Tilghman, Woodlands, April 1779, Society MSS.
189. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.
190. Ibid.
191. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.
192. Ibid.
193. Hamilton to Parke, London, 28 July 1785, Society MSS.
194. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.
195. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.
196. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS. Hamilton made particular mention of the Bingham's who were shipping, to Philadelphia, "two carriages & 8 servants &c.. & imagine means to make a great Shew [sic]."
197. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.
198. Ibid.
199. Hamilton to Yeates, The Woodlands, 8 October 1786, Yeates MSS.
200. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.
201. Ibid. See also Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 10 March 1787, Yeates MSS.
202. Yeates to Hamilton, Lancaster, 13 July 1786, Lancaster estate, Yeates MSS. To majority of Jasper Yeates correspondence to William Hamilton regarding the Lancaster estate is bound into a letter book. Actual records of rent collections from the Lancaster estate are recorded in Jasper Yeates account book in the archives of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

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203. Hamilton to Yeates, The Woodlands, 8 October 1786, Yeates MSS.

204. Yeates to Hamilton, Lancaster, 14 October 1786, Lancaster estate, Yeates MSS.

205. Hamilton to Parke, London. 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

206. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 21 December 1786, Yeates MSS.

207. Ibid.

208. Wolf, Philadelphia, 102.

209. Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, 86.

210. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 1 February 1787, Yeates MSS.

211. Hamilton to Yeates, The Woodlands, 8 October, 1786, Yeates MSS.

212. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 10 March 1787, Yeates MSS.

213. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 1 February 1787, Yeates MSS.

214. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 4 May 1788, Yeates MSS.

215. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 10 March 1787, Yeates MSS.

216. Ibid. Hamilton wrote that:

I have no alternative but to dispose of my lot opposite the State House as the most saleable part of my property but which nevertheless will not at this time yield half its value. What would greatly mortify me to be driven to such a measure is that it is a favorite spot & of an encreasing value as any thing belonging to me.

Hamilton had probably come into possession of this Chestnut Street property, across from "Independence Hall," through his uncle, William Allen. Provincial Councillors, page 141, said that:

[William Allen] joined Andrew Hamilton in the project of making the square on Chestnut Street

between Fifth and Sixth the site of the State House, and advanced the money for the purchase of certain lots, taking title in his own name until the Province re-imbursed him.

See also Letter of Attorney, 2 October 1784, T. Cadwalader MSS.

217. Ibid.

218. Ibid.

219. Ibid

220. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 21 December 1786, Yeates MSS.

221. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 22 February 1787, Yeates MSS.

222. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS

223. "To be Let at Bush Hill & To be Let at The Woodlands," 13 February 1787, Pennsylvania Packet.

224. "Likewise to be sold, 800 acres of land in Hunterdon County, West New Jersey," 15 February 1787, Pennsylvania Packet.

225. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 10 May 1787, Yeates MSS.

226. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 10 March 1787, Yeates MSS.

227. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 1 November 1790, Smith MSS. See also John Adams, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, ed., L. H. Butterfield et al., 4 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1961), 3, 184, note 1.

228. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 13 September 1787, Yeates MSS.

229. Ibid.

230. Ibid.

231. Ibid. See also Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 2 August 1787, Yeates MSS.

The raising of my house at The Woodlands has detained me these several days past.

232. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 1 November 1790, Smith MSS.

I know not at this time whether Child and Ben Miller are at B. Hill or at The Woodlands. These are matters about which you must suppose me more than commonly anxious at this season & as Mr. Adams is I am told most probably arrived by this time.

233. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 25 October 1790, Smith MSS.

234. Ibid. See also Hamilton to Smith, Downings Tavern, 21 October 1790, Smith MSS.

235. Hamilton to Yeates, The Woodlands, 7 May 1790, Yeates MSS.

236. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 16 October 1789, Smith MSS.

237. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 4 June 1788, Smith MSS.

238. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 20 March 1788, Yeates MSS.

239. Ibid.

240. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 15 May 1788, Yeates MSS.

241. Ibid.

242. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 16 November 1795, Smith MSS.

I mean to go from hence by the way of Baltimore on the Nottingham Business & from thence across to Sussex [Delaware]. Altho by no means sanguine respecting either of them yielding present advantages I think it right to attend to them.

Other properties in western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia and New Jersey which William Hamilton acquired through bond defaults brought him very little revenue. They actually drained his resources because of the property taxes he was obligated to pay despite their unproductiveness. Hamilton's statement to Yeates, 21 December 1786, Yeates MSS., sums it up.

What encreases the evil is my want of success in almost every application I have made to obtain money from other parts of my Estate, so that I am really at a loss to know what to do & I suffer the greatest inconveniences from my disappointments.

243. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 18 July 1787, Yeates MSS.

244. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 11 October 1787, Yeates MSS.

245. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 15 May 1788, Yeates MSS.

246. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, [ca. 11 June 1787], Smith MSS.

247. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 18 July 1787, Yeates MSS.
See also Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 29 August 1787, Yeates MSS.

My reliance on his positive promises has put me to great inconvenience. When I began the addition to my House at The Woodlands, from my dependence on his assurances I calculated accordingly.

248. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 14 January 1788, Smith MSS.
See also Yeates to Hamilton, Lancaster, 5 May 1788, Pearce MSS.

249. Hamilton to Yeates, Downings, 30 January 1789, Yeates MSS.

250. Hamilton to Yeates, The Woodlands, 8 October 1786, Yeates MSS.

251. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 20 March 1788, Yeates MSS.

252. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 8 June 1789, Smith MSS.
See also Hamilton to Smith, Downings, 9 January 1788, Smith MSS.

The model for the Step railing was left at Mr. Hubleys to come in the stage.

253. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster], 12 October 1789, Smith MSS.
See also Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 28 July 1788, Smith MSS.

If you had told me in your last letter what screws hinges &c. Mr. Child was in want of I might have got them very well here and forwarded them immediately.

- 254. Hamilton to Smith, Downings, 21 October 1790, Smith MSS.
- 255. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 20 June 1789, Smith MSS.
- 256. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 14 June 1790, Smith MSS.
See also Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 28 May 1790, Smith MSS.
- 257. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 25 October 1790, Smith MSS.
- 258. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 24 June 1790, Smith MSS.
- 259. Hamilton to Yeates, The Woodlands, 11 March 1790, Yeates MSS.
- 260. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, n. d. August 1792, Smith MSS.
- 261. Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.
- 262. Ibid. See also Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 30 July 1792, Smith MSS. See 1798 Direct Tax, Philadelphia County, Schedule A, Woodlands, 6 October 1799, Microfilm Publication M372, National Archives, Mid-Atlantic Branch.
- 263. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 27 September 1789, Smith MSS.
- 264. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 22 October 1790, Smith MSS.
- 265. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 27 September 1789, Smith MSS.
- 266. Hamilton to Smith, Downings, n. d., filed after 6 February 1789, Smith MSS.
- 267. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 6 October 1789, Smith MSS.
- 268. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster], 17 January 1789, Smith MSS.
- 269. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 6 February [1789] Smith MSS.

270. Intact examples of these structures, can be seen at the Biddle family estate, Andalusia, Bucks County, PA. and at the Ridgely family plantation, Hampton, Baltimore County, MD.

271. Refer to Eli Kirk Price, Executive Committee Minutes, 5 May and 5 June 1845, The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia. (Hereafter cited as WCC).

272. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians," 241.

273. The Woodlands household accounts, 27 January 1786, Smith MSS.

274. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster], 12 October 1789, Smith MSS.

275. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 22 and 25 October 1790 and 6 February 1789, Smith MSS.

276. Hamilton to Smith, Sorrel Horse, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

277. Hamilton to Smith, Downings, 9 January 1788, Smith MSS.

278. Ibid.

279. Hamilton to Smith, Beirnets, 11 February 1791, Smith MSS.

280. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 25 October 1790, Smith MSS.

281. Blockley Township, "County Tax," 1779-1814, William Hamilton.

282. Hamilton to Smith, Downings, 21 October 1790, Smith MSS.

283. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 25 October 1790, Smith MSS.

284. Hamilton to Smith, Chester, 6 November 1792, Smith MSS.

285. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, n. d. June 1790, Smith MSS.

286. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 1 June 1789, Smith MSS.

287. Hamilton to Yeates, The Woodlands, 7 May 1790, Yeates MSS.

288. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 13 June 1789, Smith MSS. See also Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 30 July 1792, Smith MSS.

I hope the hay has not been neglected & that [Joseph] Saltbach is now mowing the Rockfield as he promised.

289. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 25 October 1790, Smith MSS. See also Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 12 June 1790, Smith MSS.

Commonsense would point out the necessity of my having constant information respecting the grass grounds at Bush Hill & at The Woodlands which must be nearly in a state of mowing.

290. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 27 September 1789, Smith MSS. See also Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, [3] October 1789, Smith MSS.

The hay should also be making at Bush Hill or will be overtaken by the Frost. It was rotten ripe before I left home. Dougherty should cut down the weeds too as soon as possible in order to get ready for ploughing.

291. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 22 October 1790, Smith MSS.

292. Hamilton to Smith, Chester, 6 November 1792, Smith MSS.

293. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster 22 October 1790, Smith MSS.

294. Kitchen Garden diagram, [June 1790], T. Cadwalader MSS. Hamilton's notes, on the reverse side, reminding himself of tasks to be accomplished and people he needed contact correspond to his letters to Benjamin Hayes Smith, 28 May 1790.

295. Hamilton to Smith, Sorrel Horse, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

296. Repton, "Fragments on The Theory, &c.," in Landscape Gardening, 550.

297. McLean, "The Eighteenth Century Kitchen Garden at Mount Pleasant," in "HSR Mount Pleasant," Dickey, 2.

298. Hamilton to Smith, Sorrel Horse, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

299. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster], 1 June 1789, Smith MSS.

300. Ibid.

301. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 28 May 1790, Smith MSS.

302. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 12 June 1790, Smith MSS.

303. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster], n. d. June 1790, Smith MSS.

304. Ibid. See also Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster 12 June 1790, Smith MSS. Hamilton was anxious to plant curious varieties of vegetables as well.

Mr. Wikoff promised me some seeds of a cucumber six feet long & you were to call continually untill you got them.

305. Hamilton to Smith, Chester, 6 November 1792, Smith MSS.

306. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 27 September 1789, Smith MSS.

307. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster], n. d. June 1790, Smith MSS.

308. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster], n. d. June 1790, Smith MSS.

309. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 12 June 1790, Smith MSS.

310. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 20 June 1791, Smith MSS.

311. Hamilton to Smith, Sorrel Horse, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

312. Hamilton to Smith, York Town, 21 [July] 1788, Smith MSS

313. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 21 June 1790, Smith MSS.

314. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 12 June 1790, Smith MSS.

315. Ibid.

316. Ibid.

317. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 21 June 1790, Smith MSS.

318. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 25 October 1790, Smith MSS.

319. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 6 October 1789, Smith MSS.

320. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

321. Ibid. Further along in the letter Hamilton said that:

The Grape cuttings I sent out last spring are of the most valuable kinds. I saw this season produced on vines from whence some of them were taken Bunches of half a yard long, weighing between six & seven pounds. Too much pains cannot be taken to preserve & encrease from them as well as the vines that accompanied them.

322. Ibid.

323. The Woodlands household accounts, 20 October and 19 December 1792, Smith MSS. In both lists of expenses, Isinglass is itemized. A manuscript in the Society collection, AM 870, "Directions for Raising Nurseries, Planting Orchards &c.," gives a receipt for "settling the lees" in the clarification of "casked Cyder using isinglass".

324. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster], n. d. June 1790, Smith MSS. See also "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, Society MSS.

The walk terminates at the Green-house which is very large the front is ornamented with the greatest quantity of the most flourishing jesamine & honeysuckles in full bloom that I have ever seen.

325. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 1 June 1789, Smith MSS.

326. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

327. Ibid.

328. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, Society MSS. See also Minutes of the Meetings of the Managers, The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, 12 September 1844, WCC MSS, HSP.

The red cedar trees on the line of the palisade fence between The Woodlands and Mr. Jones be cut down and disposed of.

329. Ibid.

330. Ibid.

331. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

332. Hamilton to Smith, Sorrel Horse, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

333. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, Society MSS.

334. Hamilton to Smith, Sorrel Horse, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

335. Hamilton to Marshal, The Woodlands, 22 November 1790, Dreer MSS.

336. Hamilton to Smith, Sorrel Horse, 2 May 1789, Smith MSS.

337. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 1 June 1789, Smith MSS.

338. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 12 June 1790, Smith MSS.

The curious exotic cutting & those of the Franklinia
I did not believe it possible for even you to be
inattentive to.

339. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

340. Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening, 145.

The perfect combination is a garden
opening into a park with a short walk
through the latter to a farm, and by ways
along its glades to ridings in the
country; but to the farm and the ridings
the park is no more than a passage, and
its woods and its buildings are but
circumstances in their views; its scenes
can be communicated only to the garden.

341. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 22 October 1790, Smith MSS.

342. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.

343. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 1 June 1789, Smith MSS.

344. James Justice, The British Gardener's Director
(Edinburgh: printed for a Kincaid and J. Bell, and R.
Fleming, 1764), 72.

345. Jefferson to John Rutledge and Thomas Lee Shippen.
Quoted in Kimball "Beginnings of Landscape Architecture in
America," Landscape Architecture 42 (July 1917): 184.
Requoted in Nygren. Views and Visions. 137.

346. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 22 October 1790, Smith MSS.

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347. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, n. d. June 1790, Smith MSS.

348. Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening, 1.

349. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 16 October, 1789, Smith MSS.

350. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 20 June 1791, Smith MSS.

351. The Woodlands Household Accounts, 8 July 1791, Smith MSS.

By 13/8 in full viz. 11/2 for digging additional foundation & 2/6 for clearing away the earth the above not to be charged to his other account of the foundation of Stable.

352. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 3 August 1792, Smith MSS.

353. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 3 August 1791, Smith MSS.

354. Hamilton to Smith, Chester, 7 November 1792, Smith MSS.

355. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 507.

356. Ibid.

357. Dr. David Hosack to Dr. Thomas Parke, New York City, 25 July 1803, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, Boston Public Library.

358. Eli Kirk Price, Executive Committee Minutes, 23 May 1846, WCC MSS. See also Diary, 2 November 1806, 58-60. The description may be found in Chapter I, 37. See also 1798 Direct Tax, Woodlands, 6 October 1799, National Archives.

I am pleased to credit Rob Fitzgerald for mentioning to me that he thought that he had seen a sketch of The Woodlands within an early 19th century diary. With his information I was able to make further inquiry and discover a hitherto unknown and lengthy description of The Woodlands.

359. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.

360. Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784, Alfred J. Morrison, trans. and ed. (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1911), 98.

361. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, Society MSS.

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362. Whately, Observations on Modern Gardening, 180.

363. "Visit of the Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler to William Hamilton," PMHB 8, 109-110.

364. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 507.

365. Jefferson to Hamilton, Washington, n. d. July 1806, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

366. Ibid.

367. Ibid.

368. "Visit of the Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler to William Hamilton," PMHB 8, 110. Certainly, Hamilton's possession and use of Charles Linnaeus' 10 vols. of Amoenitates Academicæ seu dissertationes variae Physicæ, Medicæ Botanicae. . ." and Thomas Martyn's The Language of Botany are persuasive indicators of his consideration of Botany as a gentlemanly occupation.

369. Hamilton to Parke, London, 8 March 1786, Pemberton MSS.

370. Hamilton to Washington, The Woodlands, 17 March 1792, Washington Papers, Library of Congress. Attached to the letter are two extensive lists of plants. One list is from Bartram the other from Hamilton. "The voyage" which Hamilton prepared the plants for is probably via the sloop "Charming Polly" captained by John Ellwood, Jr., which sailed regularly between Alexandria and Philadelphia carrying freight and passengers, see the Diaries of George Washington, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia), 328.

371. Bernard McMahon to Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia, 3 January 1809, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

372. Hamilton to Jefferson, The Woodlands, 16 January 1803, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

373. Hamilton to Washington, The Woodlands, 6 March 1797, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

374. Ibid.

375. Yeates to Hamilton, Lancaster, 18 March 1787, Yeates MSS.

376. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 29 March 1787, Yeates MSS.

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377. Hosack to Parke, New York City, 25 July 1803, Boston MSS.

378. Ibid.

379. Hamilton to Marshal, The Woodlands 23 November 1796, Dreer MSS. A list of plants is attached noting greenhouse requirements if needed. See also Hamilton to Marshal, The Woodlands, 3 May 1799, Dreer MSS. Hamilton wrote:

I now take the opportunity of forwarding you by the stage a very healthy one [Tea Tree] as well as several of other kinds which I believe are not already in your collection together with a small parcel of seeds, the whole of which will I flatter myself prove acceptable to you.

See also Hamilton to Marshal, [Downings, n. d. probably spring of 1800], Dreer MSS. Hamilton refers to "plants and seeds prepared for you" and that he was "forwarding them by the next Chester stage."

380. Hamilton to Marshal, The Woodlands, 23 November 1796, Dreer MSS.

381. Ibid.

382. Ibid.

383. Ibid.

384. Dr. Henry Muhlenberg to Dr. John Brickel, Lancaster, 1 March 1804, Manuscript Collection, APS.

385. Sarah P. Stetson, "William Hamilton and his 'Woodlands'," in PMHB 73, no. 1 (January 1949): 33.

The writers failed to realize that genuine collectors are not noted for their liberality with any but unconsidered trifles.

386. Downing, Landscape Gardening, 9.

387. Hamilton to Lyle, The Woodlands, 28 September 1792, Pearce MSS.

388. Hamilton to Yeates, Lancaster, 23 October 1790, Yeates MSS.

389. Yeates to Hamilton, Lancaster, 12 December 1790, Yeates MSS.

390. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster, n. d., from the contents it is probably 1794], Smith MSS.

391. Hamilton to Smith, Prime Book House, 11 November 1792, Smith MSS.

392. Hamilton to Smith, [Lancaster, n. d., from the contents it is probably 1784], Smith MSS. See also Wayne County Deed Book no. 1, 389 &c., 3 July 1804. 1804 was when it was recorded but the transfer occurred on 14 April 1791.

393. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 29 September 1794, Smith MSS.

394. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 16 November 1795, Smith MSS.

395. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 29 September 1794, Smith MSS.

396. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 13 August 1792, Smith MSS.

397. "To be Let at The Woodlands," 3 January 1788, Pennsylvania Packet.

398. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 1 November 1795, Smith MSS.

399. William Roxburgh, Botanist to the English East India Company to the President and Members of American Philosophical Society, Botanical Gardens near Calcutta, 26 December 1793, manuscript collection, APS. Attached is a receipt from William Hamilton, 19 April 1794, for the deposit of the box of plants.

400. Certificate, American Philosophical Society, 5 January 1798, William Hamilton, "Elected 21 July 1797," Andrew and James Hamilton Papers, Society MSS.

401. Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: Press of McCalla & Stanley, 1884), 21 May 1802 and 15 July 1803.

402. Jefferson to Hamilton, Philadelphia, 22 April 1800, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

403. Jefferson to Hamilton, Washington, 6 November 1805, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. A portion of this letter was never published; it reads:

I lately forwarded to Mr. Peale for the Philosophical Society a box containing minerals & seeds from Capt. Lewis which I did not open and I am persuaded the Society will be pleased to dispose of them so well as into your hands. Mr. Peale would readily ask this.

The other had no ticket but I believe it is a plant used by the Indians with extraordinary success for curing the bite of the rattlesnake & other venomous animals.

Mr. [James] Madison had flattered us with the hope of seeing you here at the races. I should have been happy to have seen you, as I shall be with every opportunity of testifying to you my esteem & respect & tendering you my friendly salutations.

404. Ibid.

405. Early Proceedings, 15 November 1805.

406. Jefferson to McMahon, Washington, 6 January 1807, in Jefferson's Garden Book, ed. Edwin M. Betts (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1944), 337.

407. Jefferson to Hamilton, Washington, 22 March 1807, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. A portion of this letter was never published. It reads:

At present I cannot but hope that some of them will be found to add useful or agreeable varieties to what we now possess. These, with the descriptions of plants, which not being in seed at the time, he could not bring, will add considerably to our Botanical professions. He will equally add to the Natural history of our country, on the whole the result confirms me in my first opinion that he was the fittest person in the world for such an expedition. He will be with you shortly at Philadelphia, where I have no doubt you will be so kind as to shew [sic] him those civilities which you so readily bestow on worth. I send a similar parcke to Mr. McMahon, to take the chance of a double treatment in confiding these public deposits

to your & his hands, I am sure I make the best possible disposition of them. Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of great esteem & respect.

408. Jefferson to McMahon, Washington, 22 March 1807, in Jefferson's Garden Book, ed. Betts, 344.

409. Hamilton to Jefferson, The Woodlands, 5 February 1808, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Much of the letter is unpublished. Hamilton asks for Jefferson's assistance in obtaining various cuttings from Oxon Hill, Maryland and the Georgetown section of the capitol city. He suggests Dr. Ott of Georgetown can be of assistance. Hamilton then proceeds to give minute detail on the packing and shipping of plants "between layers of swamp moss sphagnum." Hamilton proceeds to inform Jefferson that:

I have the pleasure to inform you that my green & hot houses are now in great perfection. Although my gardener [John McArran] is an indifferent one, he keeps them clean and neat as the palour & notwithstanding his want of knowledge which occasions the loss of many plants.

410. Dr. Henry Muhlenberg to Zaccheus Collins, Lancaster, 30 January 1815, collection 129, the Academy of Natural Science. (Hereafter ANS MSS). Hamilton did, indeed, keep close notes on the progress of his plants. Evidence of his observation and notation habits can be found in a letter; Hamilton to Dr. John Redman Coxe, The Woodlands, 13 January 1805, in The Philadelphia Medical Museum, conducted by John Redman Coxe, M. D. (Philadelphia: printed by Archibald Bartram, 1805), 308-309.

411. Jefferson to Dr. Caspar Wistar, Washington, 21 June 1807, in Jefferson's Garden Book, ed. Betts, 349.

412. Jefferson to Charles Willson Peale, Monticello, 24 August 1808, in The Selected Papers of Charles Wilson Peale and His Family, ed. Lillian B. Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 1119. Refer also to the footnote which reads:

Mr. Hamilton's garden at The Woodlands was made available to individuals and to classes from the University of Pennsylvania for botanical studies. See: Federal Writers' Project, Pennsylvania: A Guide to the Keystone State (New York: 1940), 282.

413. Jefferson to Hamilton, Monticello, 7 May 1809, Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Much of the letter is unpublished. This letter provides confirmation of Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton's use of The Woodlands garden and Hamilton's collection to supplement his lectures. Hamilton's garden was in fact the first established Botanic Garden to be used for instruction of University of Pennsylvania students.

414. Refer to endnote 411.

415. Townsend Ward, "A walk to Darby," PMHB 3, no. 1 (1879): 164.

416. Jefferson to Hamilton, Monticello, 7 May 1809, Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. This passage has never been published nor has the majority of the letter. See also Jefferson to Wistar, 21 June 1807, in Jefferson's Garden Book, ed. Betts, 349.

417. Hamilton to Barton, [The Woodlands], 21 December 1802, Manuscript Collection, APS.

418. John W. Harshberger, The Botanists of Philadelphia and Their Work (Philadelphia, 1899), 111.

419. Paul Russell Catright, Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1969), 359. See also Harshberger, The Botanists of Philadelphia, 114.

420. Frederick Pursh, Flora Americae Septentrionalis; or a Systematic Arrangement and Description of the Plants of North America (1814), Preface, viii.

421. Catright, Lewis and Clark, 360.

422. Ibid, 363.

423. Pursh, Flora Americae Septentrionalis, viii.

424. Ibid.

425. Blockley Township "County Tax," 1802 and 1803, William Hamilton.

426. Ibid, 1803-1809.

427. John McArran, Handbill, "Botanical Gardener, Nursery, Seedsman, and Florist," [from the dates within the handbill, it probably was printed in 1822], Stauffer collection, HSP. McArran appeared to have prevailed upon Hamilton, in his ill health, to part with his herbarium. See Henry Muhlenberg to Zaccheus Collins, Lancaster, 22 August 1812, Manuscript Collection, ANS.

I was informed too late that the gardiner of Mr. Pratt Mr. John Mackran [McArran] has an excellent herbarium of plants collected at Mr. Hamiltons and from all quarters.

428. Wolf, Philadelphia, 117.

429. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 29 September 1794, Smith MSS. See Twining Diary notation, chapter II, endnote 141.

430. Ibid.

431. Wolf, Philadelphia, 117.

432. Emanuel C. Reigart, deposition, T. Cadwalader MSS.

433. "Visit of the Rev. Or. Manasseh Cutler to William Hamilton," PMHB 8, 110.

434. Ibid.

435. Ibid.

436. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 1 February 1804, Smith MSS.

437. Hamilton to Lyle, The Woodlands, 25 August 1792, Pearce MSS.

438. Hamilton to Lyle, The Woodlands, 28 September 1792, Pearce MSS.

439. Ibid.

440. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 14 June 1803, Smith MSS.

441. Hamilton to Smith, Lancaster, 16 August 1804, Smith MSS.

442. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 1 February 1804, Smith MSS. See also Hamilton to the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge Company, 21 June 1800, Dreer MSS.

I consent & agree that the road leading from the Lancaster turnpike road through my land at The Woodlands & passing thro to the Derby or Chester Road as now amended & improved by the Schuylkill Permanent Bridge Company, be & remain open for ever as the permanent road for publick use so far as it passes thro my grounds.

443. Hamilton to Schuylkill Permanent Bridge Company, 21 June 1800, Dreer MSS.

444. Ibid.

445. Roger Miller and Joseph Siry, "The Emerging Suburb: West Philadelphia, 1850-1880," Pennsylvania History XLVI, no. 2 (April 1980): 106.

446. Hamilton to Smith, Woodlands, 14 June 1803. Smith MSS. In Hamilton's letter he refers to being "constantly worried with workmen." This and Hamilton's reference to "the finishing of my house," relates to damage the dwelling suffered. See Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 19 March 1802, Smith MSS.

Early in the winter I discovered accidentally that the plynths of the portico columns were rotten as punk & that the whole of them as well as the roof being in jeopardy. The securing of them by underpinning with stone was immediately necessary was attended with an immensity of trouble & no small degree of expense. This you will readily believe when you are told that the columns & roof were obliged to be raised & supported during the operation by screws of an immense force this was hardly ended when an accident happen.d equally unlooked for & was nearly attended with most serious consequences. The ceiling of my dining parlour (in consequence of the rascality of Robert Watt in laying in the plaister to the thickness of from 4 to 5 inches) came down at once (without the smallest previous notice) with such a force as to crush all in its way & shake the house like an aspen leaf & with such a noise that the family at Weeds [George Weed who kept Gray's Ferry 1795-1803] came out of the ferry house to know what cannon had fired so

near them. As the whole cornice had come down, the repairs have been attended with great inconvenience & cost. Had these however been ten times greater I ought not to repine, when I recollect my mother & my own [?] escape for had the ceiling fallen ten minutes later & it would have crushed both of us to atoms as it did the furniture. We were just going down to breakfast as we felt the shock. While the ceiling was repairing the house itself had like to have been destroyed by fire which had got a considerable head & burnt thro the roof without being discovered--had the discovery been delay.d a few minutes all efforts would have been in vain to save it for indeed would it have been at this moment in-existence but for the unparalell.d exertions of my faithful George [Hilton] at the imminent risque of his life. During the short days for five or six weeks together twelve or 14 people have been constantly employ.d in repairing the injuries sustained by the accidents.

447. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 14 June 1803, Smith MSS. Hamilton was at this point in debt to Benjamin Hayes Smith who had left Hamilton's employment to take up public office.

448. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 1 February 1804, Smith MSS.

449. Ibid.

450. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 14 June 1803, Smith MSS.

451. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 1 February 1804, Smith MSS.

452. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 14 June 1803, Smith MSS.

453. Philadelphia Gazette, 23 August 1802. Even as Hamilton extended the grid of the city into his forty acre village site, he did not neglect to make it a place apart, a new "middle landscape." The quarter acre sites were an attempt to give domestic structures their own bit of garden (and some enjoyment of a country house). In fact it was the new suburban landscape. In forming his village, William Hamilton still kept in mind the public good without losing site of the picturesque effects he desired as part of The Woodlands'

scene. As he set aside groups of lots for a public school and a church he stipulated that "ye steeple must be so placed that it can be seen from ye manor house." See deed, 1808, St. Mary's Church records. See also M. Laffite Vieira, West Philadelphia Illustrated (Philadelphia: Anvil Printing Company, 1903), 42-43.

454. Eliza Hamilton to General Cadwalader, from Cheltenham [England], 23 January 1828, T. Cadwalader MSS.

455. Sophia Cadwalader, ed. Recollections of Joshua Francis Fisher Written in 1864 (Boston: privately printed, 1929) 217.

456. Will, 1813, no. 74, William Hamilton, 9 September 1811, Philadelphia Municipal Archives.

457. Muhlenberg to Collins, Lancaster, 1 February 1813, collection 129, ANS. Muhlenberg was not the only person Hamilton relied upon for importing books. Both William Hamilton and Jasper Yeates gave their patronage to Phineas Bond. See List of Books, 1 July 1789, Jasper Yeates, Marian Carson Acquisition, Lancaster County Historical Society.

458. Invitation to William Bartram to attend William Hamilton's funeral, The Woodlands, 5 June 1813, Bartram MSS, HSP. William Bartram and William Hamilton continued their long association for at least thirty years. Hamilton had been entrusted with the care Bartram's plants in June 1790. William Bartram gave William Hamilton a presentation copy of his Travels Through North & South Carolina... and, for years afterward, the two men exchanged books or made gifts of books to each other. See Hamilton to Bartram, Monday (n. d.), Bartram MSS. No. 4:45. It should be noted that A Catalogue of Trees, Shrubs and Herbaceous Plants published for John Bartram & Son in 1807 cites William Hamilton as an authority on page 8. See Figure 27.

459. "Died at The Woodlands," The American Daily Advertiser, 8 June 1813.

460. "The Woodlands, described in 1815," Philadelphia, 6 May 1815, PMHB 15 (1891): 496-497.

461. Wolf, Philadelphia, 132.

462. Westcott, Historic Mansions, 461. See also Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 833.

463. "The diary of Samuel Breck," ed. Nicholas B. Wainwright, PMHB 102 (October 1978): 478. See also William Strickland, "Map of the County. . . surveyed by order of General Jonathan Williams Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Defense, Philadelphia, 28 September 1814, Manuscript Collection, APS.

464. Andrew Hamilton to Benjamin Smith Barton, [The Woodlands], 4 March 1815, manuscript collection, APS.

465. Ibid. Preceding this statement, Andrew Hamilton wrote to Barton that:

Our gardiner being doubtful whether the [?] is the "Mimosa grandiflora" or not, may I beg the favor of you to inform me what the true name of it is.

466. Andrew Hamilton to Benjamin Smith Barton, [The Woodlands], 6 March 1815, Manuscript Collection, APS.

I beg you to accept my thanks for your obliging attention to my note of Saturday & also for the beautiful prints which I now return but had I been aware of your indisposition I should not have troubled you.

Dr. Barton died 19 December 1815 never recovering from the "indisposition" Andrew Hamilton refers to. See Harshberger, The Botanists of Philadelphia, 112.

467. "The Woodlands described in 1815," Philadelphia, 6 May 1815, PMHB 15 (1891): 496-497. See also Betty-Bright P. Low, "The Youth of 1812: More excerpts from the Letters of Josephine duPont and Margaret Manigault," Winterthur Portfolio 11: 199. The entry is a letter dated 2 April 1814 and describes entertainment at The Woodlands. Thus, even after William Hamilton's death, The Woodlands was still a place of resort.

468. "From the Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture," Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, 1 June 1815.

469. Accounts, James Hamilton with James Lyle, 1817; Accounts, estate of James Hamilton with James Lyle, 1818-1821, T. Cadwalader MSS.

470. Ibid.

Notes to pages 174 - 176

471. Andrew Hamilton to James Lyle, Philadelphia, 14 May 1819, Judge John Cadwalader MSS.

472. Accounts, The Woodlands in account with Henry Beckett, 1826-1828, T. Cadwalader MSS.

473. Accounts, The Woodlands, 5 and 20 January 1827, T. Cadwalader MSS.

474. Accounts, The Woodlands, 14 April 1827, T. Cadwalader MSS.

475. Accounts, The Woodlands, 23 January 1829, T. Cadwalader MSS. Actual agreement was reached on 24 September 1828.

476. Eliza Hamilton to General Cadwalader, from Cheltenham [England], 23 January 1828, T. Cadwalader MSS.

477. Eliza Hamilton to General Cadwalader, from Cheltenham [England], 23 January 1828, T. Cadwalader MSS.

CHAPTER III ENDNOTES

1. Miller and Siry, "The Emerging Suburb," 107 and 109.
2. Joseph Jackson, Market Street, Philadelphia: America's most Historic Highway (new ed. Philadelphia, John Wanamaker, 1926), 332.
3. Commissioners of the District of West Philadelphia, Digest of Ordinances (Philadelphia, 1852), quoted in Jackson, Market Street, 196-197. See also an 1858 diary entry by Sidney Fisher, quoted in David Slovic, review of Borderland, by John R. Stilgoe, The Philadelphia Inquirer, 12 February 1989. Slovic quotes Fisher:

A beneficial effect of [the horse-drawn streetcar in West Philadelphia] will be to enable everyone to have a suburban villa or country home, to spread the city over a vast space, with all the advantages of compactness and the advantages, moreover, of pure air, gardens and rural pleasures.
4. Philadelphia Gazette, 23 August 1802.
5. Miller and Siry, "The Emerging Suburb," 109.
6. Robert Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987), 6.
7. Ibid, 5.
8. Ibid, 4.
9. Warner, Private City, 49-57.
10. Ibid, 63.
11. David J. Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), 155-189.
12. J. Ronaldson to R. Vaux, Philadelphia, 17 April 1828, Vaux Papers, Society Miscellaneous, HSP. See also Reports of Committees 1790-1876, Committee on the Poor Laws, Committee from the Alms House, queries, Society

miscellaneous. See also Charles Lawrence, History of the Philadelphia Almshouses and Hospitals (Philadelphia: by the author, 1905), 80. Lawrence explains that the portion of The Woodlands plantation known as the Tomlinson farm tract was selected over twenty-nine other sites.

13. Sheriff's office sale, Jacob Strembeck, 28 November, 1827, T. Cadwalader MSS.

14. Account, The Woodlands, 23 January 1829, T. Cadwalader MSS.

15. Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 159.

16. Lawrence, History of the Philadelphia Almshouses, 85.

17. Ibid, 77. Refer to Samuel L. Smedley, A Complete Atlas of the City of Philadelphia, 1863, section 7 for the positioning and arrangement of the separate buildings on the site.

18. John F. Sears, Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 90.

19. Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 66.

20. Boyd, Adam Style, 324-325.

21. Sears, Sacred Places, 91.

22. Reports of Committees 1790-1876, Society miscellaneous, HSP.

23. Sears, Sacred Places, 91. The passage is a requote of The National Magazine.

24. Richard A. Etlin, "The Geometry of Death," Progressive Architecture, May (1982): 135.

25. Downing, Landscape Gardening, 9.

26. John Jay Smith, Laurel Hill Cemetery. Memoranda kept by Jno. J. Smith, Jr., Drayton Smith Collection, private. (Hereafter cited as Memorandum for individual dated entries).

27. David Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth Century America (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 39.

28. Ibid, 39.

29. Richard A. Etlin, "Pere Lachaise and the Garden Cemetery," Journal of Garden History 4, no. 3 (1984): 211 (Hereafter cited as JGH).

30. Ibid, 219.

31. Richard A. Etlin, The Architecture of Death (Cambridge, Massachusetts: the MIT Press, 1984), 303-310.

32. James Stevens Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," JGH 4 no. 3 (1984): 226.

33. Etlin, "Pere Lachaise," 219.

34. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 38.

35. Sears, Sacred Places, 100.

36. Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," 226.

37. Etlin, "Pere Lachaise," 214.

38. Ibid.

39. Geoffrey and Susan Jellicoe, The Landscape of Man (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 232-246.

40. Etlin, "Pere Lachaise," 214.

41. Etlin, The Architecture of Death, 103.

42. Etlin, "The Geometry of Death," 134.

43. Etlin, "Pere Lachaise," 219.

44. Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," 226.

45. Etlin, The Architecture of Death, 357.

46. Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," 226 & 247.

47. David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History," JGH 4, no. 3 (1984): 292.

48. Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," 229-232.

49. Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," 229-232.

50. Etlin, The Architecture of Death, 359.

51. Barbara Rotundo, "Mount Auburn: Fortunate Coincidences and an Ideal Solution," JGH 4, no. 3 (1984), 256.

52. Blanche Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds: Tourist and Leisure Uses of Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemeteries," in Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 305.

53. Ibid, 306.

54. Ibid, 307.

55. John A. Dickey, "Historic Structure Report: Laurel Hill Cemetery," (For the Friends of Laurel Hill, 1979), 5. (Hereafter cited as HSR Laurel Hill Cemetery).

56. Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds," 307.

57. Wolf, Philadelphia, 135.

58. Dickey, "HSR: Laurel Hill Cemetery," 44.

59. Smith, Memorandum, Laurel Hill Cemetery, February, 1836.

60. Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds," 307.

61. Ibid.

62. Stephen Duncan Walker, Rural Cemetery and Public Walk (Baltimore: Sands and Neilson, 1835), 6-7. See also Eli Kirk Price, "Report of Committee to visit Mount Auburn," in The Charter, By-laws and Regulations of The Woodlands Cemetery Company (Philadelphia: T. and G. Town, 1945), 14-15.

63. Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery," 297.

64. Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds," 312.
65. Etlin, The Architecture of Death, 359.
66. [New York] Daily News (15 March 1842).
67. [Andrew Jackson Downing], "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," The Horticulturalist, and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste 4 (1849-1850), 9-11.
68. Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds," 307.
69. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 54.
70. Rotundo, "Mount Auburn," 258.
71. Etlin, The Architecture of Death, 359. See also Downing, Landscape Architecture, 373.
72. Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery," 301.
73. Etlin, The Architecture of Death, 359.
74. Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds," 307.
75. Price, "Report of Committee to visit Mount Auburn," 14.
76. Dickey, "HSR: Laurel Hill Cemetery," 45.
77. Price, "Report of Committee to visit Mount Auburn," 14.
78. Richard Saul Wurman and John Andrew Gallery, Man-Made Philadelphia: A Guide to Its Physical and Cultural Environment (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1972), 60.
79. Jefferson to Hamilton, Monticello, 7 May 1809, Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
80. Smith, Memorandum, Laurel Hill Cemetery, November 1835.
81. First Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park (Philadelphia: King & Baird, printers, 1869), 33.

CHAPTER IV ENDNOTES

1. Price, "Report of Committee to Visit Mount Auburn," 14.
2. Smith, Memoranda, November 1835, Smith collection.
3. Ibid.
4. Minutes of the Managers of the Laurel Hill Cemetery Company, 1 March 1836, Laurel Hill Cemetery Company MSS.
5. William Strickland, delineator, "The Woodlands near Philadelphia the Seat of Wm. Hamilton Esq.r," printed as the illustration accompanying Oliver Oldschool's "The Woodlands," in the Port Folio, December 1809. See also William Strickland, "Map of the County. . . Surveyed by Order of General Jonathan Williams Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Defense, Philadelphia, 28 September 1814, manuscript collection, APS.
6. Smith, Memoranda, November 1835, Smith collection. The second quotation extract is from John Dixon Hunt, editorial, "A Garden and a Grave," in JGH 4, no. 3 (1984): 209.
7. Samuel Haines survey of The Woodlands for James Hamilton, October 1813, T. Cadwalader MSS.
8. Accounts, The Woodlands in account with Henry Beckett, 4 January 1828, T. Cadwalader MSS.
9. Price, "Outline or Scheme of The Woodlands Cemetery," [1839], WCC MSS.
10. Price, "Plan of Conveyancing &c. in respect to The Woodlands," [1839], WCC MSS.
11. Ibid.
12. The Trustees held title to the residue of property which was not sold to The Woodlands Cemetery Company. In 1852, the Trustees sold that remaining acreage, the river front, to The West Chester and Philadelphia Railroad Company. Equitable owners of the river front of The Woodlands estate to The Woodlands Cemetery Company, 15 December 1851.

13. "Title," The Charter, By-laws and Regulations of The Woodlands Cemetery Company (Philadelphia: T. and G. Town, 1845), 23. (Hereafter cited as The Charter WCC).

14. Price, "Outline or Scheme of The Woodlands Cemetery," no page designation. (Hereafter cited as Outline WCC).

15. "An Act to Incorporate The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia," 13 April 1840. See The Charter, 5-6. (Hereafter cited as An Act WCC.)

16. Ibid.

17. Minutes of The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, 2 December 1884, WCC MSS. (Hereafter cited as Minutes WCC).

18. Warner, Private City, 77. See also page 138.

19. Minutes WCC, 6 May 1843.

20. Minutes WCC, 18 March 1843.

21. Minutes WCC, 6 May 1843.

22. Minutes WCC, 6 May 1843.

23. Minutes WCC, 18 March 1843.

24. Minutes WCC, 20 April 1844.

25. Minutes WCC, 13 July, 1840.

26. Minutes WCC, 25 February, 1843.

27. Minutes WCC, 18 February 1843.

28. Minutes WCC, 13 July 1840.

29. Minutes WCC, 25 February 1843.

30. Minutes WCC, 13 July 1840.

31. Dickey, "HSR Laurel Hill Cemetery," 5.

32. Thomas Ustick Walter, Account Book 1831-1842, folio 83, 15 November 1842, The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

33. Minutes WCC, 3 June 1843.
34. Minutes WCC, 6 May 1843.
35. Minutes WCC, 4 September 1843.
36. Minutes WCC, 28 October 1843.
37. Sears, Sacred Places, 102.
38. "By-laws and regulations," article IV, Minutes WCC, 13 July 1840.
39. Minutes WCC, 1 September 1840.
40. Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery," 292.
41. Minutes WCC, 18 March 1843.
42. Minutes WCC, 13 July 1840.
43. Eli K. Price, The Managers of The Woodlands Cemetery Company Respectfully Report to the Corporators, 31 December 1849. (Hereafter cited as Price, Managers to Corporators WCC).
44. Thomas Bender, Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 183.
45. "An Act WCC," 5.
46. Minutes WCC, 3 June 1843.
47. Minutes WCC, 1 August 1840.
48. Minutes WCC, 13 July 1840.
49. Ibid.
50. "An Act WCC," 8.
51. Ibid.
52. Handbill, "Woodlands Cemetery, To The Public," 1 December 1873, WCC MSS.

53. Minutes WCC, 3 June 1843.
54. Minutes WCC, 1 July 1843.
55. Minutes WCC, 11 November 1843.
56. Minutes WCC, 22 June 1844.
57. Minutes WCC, 12 September 1844.
58. Ibid.
59. Minutes WCC, 8 November 1844.
60. Minutes WCC, 16 November 1844.
61. Minutes WCC, 7 December 1844.
62. Eli K. Price, Executive Committee Minutes, The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, 1 February 1845. (Hereafter cited as Price, Executive Minutes WCC).
63. Minutes WCC, 1 February 1845.
64. Minutes WCC, 1 April 1845.
65. Minutes WCC, 11 November, 1843.
66. Minutes WCC, 2 December, 1843.
67. Ibid.
68. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 19 September 1845.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid. 7 October 1845.
71. Minutes WCC, 27 September 1844.
72. Ibid.
73. Minutes WCC, 14 October, 1844.
74. Indenture, between The Woodlands Cemetery Company and William Carvill, nurseryman and florist, 23 October 1844.

75. Eli K. Price, Report of the Managers to the Stockholders of The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, [1 January 1853]. (Hereafter cited as Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC).

76. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.

77. Minutes WCC, 18 March 1843.

78. "The Hamilton Mansion," unidentified printed clipping, the Samuel Castner collection, vol. 25, no. 67, prints and photographs, the Philadelphia Free Library.

During a recent funeral service held in the parlor of the old country house of the Hamilton family, now inclosed in The Woodlands Cemetery, its parlor is used as needs be as a chapel by the Cemetery Company, I was struck with the size of the spacious oval-shaped room, with its high ceiling and beautiful stained-glass windows--remnants of former splendor. Time was when this old house and room saw many a stately minuet and echoed many a silvery laugh from the fair women, attended by the brave men, of old time Philadelphia.

A similar message is contained in a poem, "The Woodlands Cemetery," for The North American and United States Gazette, Henry Paul Beck, 30 September 1860.

A chapel now, that princely hall, where echoed tread and voice of mirth, receives the dead with funeral pall, and witnesses "the last of earth."

79. Minutes WCC, 15 January 1845 and 3 January 1854.

80. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 1 July 1845 and 20 June 1847.

81. Minutes WCC, 3 June 1855.

82. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 5 May 1845 and 3 June 1845.

83. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 3 June 1845.

84. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.

85. Minutes WCC, 4 November 1843.

86. Wurman and Gallery, Man-Made Philadelphia, 67.
87. "To The Public," The Charter, By-laws and Regulations of The Woodlands Cemetery Company with a List of Lot Holders to March 1, 1868 (Philadelphia: Collins, printer, 1868), 3.
88. Price, "Report of Committee to Visit Mount Auburn," 14.
89. Minutes WCC, 4 November 1843.
90. Minutes WCC, 23 December 1843.
91. Minutes WCC, 1 December 1847.
92. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852.
93. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
94. Minutes WCC, 7 October 1843, 2 December 1843 and 22 June 1844.
95. Circular, "Statement of the Advantages and Inducements to Churches and Congregations in becoming Share-Holders in The Woodlands Cemetery Company," 22 April 1845.
96. Minutes WCC, 3 February 1844.
97. Minutes WCC, 15 January 1845.
98. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 6 February 1845.
99. "The Danger of Cemeteries in Large Cities," Pennsylvania Inquirer and National Gazette, Philadelphia, Wednesday morning, 29 January 1845.
100. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 29 January 1845.
101. Ibid.
102. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 6 February 1845.
103. Edwin Chadwick, Sanitary Report on Interments in Towns (reprint, Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1845), 1.
104. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 25 January 1845.
105. Minutes WCC, 15 January 1845.

106. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 6 February 1845.

107. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 19 September 1845. The printed petition is inserted after the following:

The Executive Committee have been requested to prepare a memorial to the Legislature upon the subject of prohibiting burials in the City, and prepared the following--

108. Etlin, The Architecture of Death, 30.

109. Ibid, 33.

110. Etlin, "Pere Lachaise and the Garden Cemetery," 211.

111. John Elkinton, The Monument Cemetery of Philadelphia, (Late De L'Amerique Pere La Chaise) (Philadelphia: Rackliff and King, 1837), 8.

112. Rotundo, "Mount Auburn," 258. See also Warner, Private City, 54.

113. Warner, Private City, 56.

114. Wurman and Gallery, Man-Made Philadelphia, 66.

115. Elkinton, The Monument Cemetery, 7.

116. Chadwick, Sanitary Report, 28.

117. "Rural Cemeteries," from Dr. Dunglison's Medical Library and Intelligencer, September 1837, requoted in Monument Cemetery, 31.

118. Chadwick, Sanitary Report, 36.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery," 293; and receipt book, The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, 11 March 1845.

122. "American Preface," in Sanitary Report, iv.

123. "To The Public," in The Charter WCC, 4.
124. Minutes WCC, 1 February 1845.
125. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 10 April 1845.
126. Minutes WCC, 7 October 1845.
127. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 1 July 1845.
128. "To The Public," in The Charter WCC, 4.
129. Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery," 294.
130. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 40.
131. Rotundo, "Mount Auburn," 260.
132. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 53.
133. Sears, Sacred Places, 103.
134. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
135. Ibid.
136. Etlin, "Pere Lachaise," 217.
137. Thomas Bender, "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature," in Material Life in America, 1600-1860, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988),
138. "Mount Auburn," from the Portsmouth Journal, 17 August 1837, requoted in Monument Cemetery, 30.
139. Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds," 304.
140. Ibid, 300.
141. Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery," 295.
142. "To The Public," in The Charter WCC, 4.
143. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 3 June 1845.

144. Minutes WCC, 22 April 1843.
145. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 3 June 1845.
146. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 15 November 1845.
147. Ibid, 28 November 1845.
148. Ibid, n. d. November 1846.
149. Ibid.
150. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 20 September 1845.
151. Ibid, 31 May 1847.
152. Minutes WCC, 4 November 1845.
153. Minutes WCC, 2 June 1846.
154. Walter, account book, 9 entries, 22 June 1846--3 July 1846.
155. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 31 March 1847.
156. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
157. Price Executive Minutes WCC, n. d. December 1846.
158. Ibid, 6 April 1847.
159. Ibid, 9 February 1848.
160. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, n. d. January 1851.
161. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.
162. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, n. d., n. m. 1852.
163. Chadwick, Sanitary Report, 31-32.
164. Elkinton, Monument Cemetery, 6.
165. Ibid, 6-7.

166. James Steven Curl, "Introduction," in On The Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries and on the Improvement of Churchyards, J. C. Loudon (a new edition, Inkley, Yorkshire: The Scholar Press for Invelet Books Limited, 1981), 17.

167. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 23 May 1846.

168. Ibid.

169. "To The Public," in The Charter WCC, 4.

170. Chadwick, Sanitary Report, 35.

171. Elkinton, Monument Cemetery, 7.

172. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

173. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 40. See also Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," 228. Curl discusses Loudon's recommendation that:

the burial-places for the metropolis' ought to be made sufficiently large to serve at the same time as breathing places'.

This notion certainly guided thinking for the establishment of urban parks as the "lungs for a city." See "Fairmount Park," The Evening Telegraph, 16 September 1872.

174. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

175. "To The Public," in The Charter WCC, 3.

176. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

177. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 June 1847.

178. Ibid, 5 May 1845.

179. Loudon, On The Laying Out, Planting, and Managing of Cemeteries, 99 and 102.

180. Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," 235, 250 and 252. See also Loudon, On The Laying Out, 20-21.

181. Price to the Guardians of the Poor of Philadelphia County, Philadelphia, 4 July 1845.

182. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 27 October 1845. See also Accounts, 14 April 1827, T. Cadwalader MSS. E. S. Burd, Robert Hare and John Hare-Powell were the purchasers of 63 acres, 3 rods and 25 perches, the most north eastern section of the old Woodlands plantation closest to Middle Ferry or Market Street Bridge.

183. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 15 November 1845.

184. Ibid, 21 and 28 November 1845.

185. Ibid, 28 November 1845.

186. Smedley, A Complete Atlas, 1863.

187. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 June 1847.

188. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.

189. Ibid.

190. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 7 April 1846.

191. Ibid, 17 April 1846.

192. Ibid, 1 May 1846.

193. Ibid, 18 April 1846.

194. Ibid, 3 June 1845.

195. Ibid, n. d. November 1846.

196. Ibid, 10 April 1847.

197. Ibid, 28 April 1847.

198. Ibid, 31 May 1847.

199. Loudon, On the Lay Out, 20-21.

200. Ibid, 69.

201. Ibid, 12-13.

202. Ibid, 69.

203. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 March, 8 April, 10 April and 12 April 1848.

204. Ibid, 12 April 1848.

205. Ibid, 1 November 1848.

206. Ibid, n. d. May 1849.

207. Ibid, 15 May 1849.

208. Morris & Stokes to Eli K. Price, West Chester, 14 May 1849.

209. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, n. d. November 1949.

210. Ibid, 30 June 1846, 19 December 1848 and 1 December 1850. On 2 May 1854, payment was made to Robert Buist for:

ten balm gilead trees planted in Sec. I [and] 11
[eleven] Austrian firs.

211. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

212. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, n. d. n. m. 1852.

213. Ibid, 5 May 1845.

214. Ibid, 1 July 1845.

215. Ibid, 9 May 1848.

216. "This Indenture," 28 October 1844.

217. Minutes WCC, 15 January 1845.

218. Ibid.

219. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 June 1847.

220. "Woodlands," L. G. to Eliza, Society MSS.

221. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.

222. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

223. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1854.
224. Sears, Sacred Places, 108.
225. Deed, "Woodlands Cemetery Company To," a. d. 184____.
226. "An Act relating to The Woodlands Cemetery Company of Philadelphia, 15 March 1847, section 2.
227. Minutes WCC, 16 August 1844.
228. Christian Review, quoted in Sacred Places, Sears, 108.
229. Fishman, Bourgeois Utopias, 4.
230. Harriet Martineau, Retrospect of Western Travel, quoted in "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds," Linden-Ward, 306.
231. Curl, "Introduction," in On The Laying Out, Loudon, 17.
232. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 52.
233. Ibid, 37.
234. Linden-Ward, "Strange but Genteel Pleasure Grounds," 302.
235. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
236. Ibid, 3 January 1852.
237. Minutes WCC, 7 September 1847.
238. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 31 August 1847.
239. "Local Affairs, The Cemeteries of Philadelphia," The Ledger, 26 July 1871. See also Minutes WCC, 1 November 1864.
240. "Local Affairs, The Cemeteries of Philadelphia," The Ledger, 26 July 1871. See also Minutes WCC, resolution, 12 December 1861. In addition see Minutes WCC, 4 March 1862 and 3 June 1862. Refer to attached letter Eli K. Price to Col. Crossman, Philadelphia, 3 June 1862.
241. Minutes WCC, 12 December 1861.
242. Minutes WCC, 4 February, 1868.

243. Minutes Wcc, 13 July 1840.
244. "Local Affairs, The Cemeteries of Philadelphia," The Ledger, 26 July 1871.
245. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852.
246. Price, "Report of Committee to Visit Mount Auburn," 14.
247. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
248. "Local Affairs, The Cemeteries of Philadelphia," The Ledger, 26 July 1871.
249. "To The Public," The Charter, 3.
250. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
251. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 June 1847.
252. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
253. Ibid.
254. Brumbaugh, "Preliminary restoration report no. 2, north terrace doors, The Woodlands" (7 June 1965), 3.
255. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
256. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 6 January 1855.
257. Oldschool, "The Woodlands." 507.
258. Frank H. Taylor, 60th Anniversary Henry A. Dreer, Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1898), n. p. See also James Boyd, A History of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, 1827-1927 (Philadelphia: Edward Steem & Company, Inc., 1929), 42, footnote.

Later The Woodlands passed into the possession of Henry A. Dreer, who conducted a nursery on these grounds from 1839 to 1850 when The Woodlands was converted into a cemetery, for which purpose it is still used.

259. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 6 January 1855.

260. Price, To The Woodlands Cemetery Company and the Equitable Owners of the River front of The Woodlands's Estate, 15 December 1851.

261. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 6 January 1855.

262. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

263. "To The Public, The Charter WCC, 3.

264. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

265. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1854.

266. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 2 January 1855.

267. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, n. d., n. m. 1851. See also Samuel Wetherill Earl to the Board of Managers of The Woodlands Cemetery Company, 14 February 1851.

268. Eli K. Price to Samuel Wetherill Earl, Philadelphia 4 March 1851.

269. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 52.

270. Erwin Panofsky, "Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegial Tradition," in Meaning in the Visual Arts (Garden City, N. Y., 1955), 295-320. Quoted in Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 51.

271. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1854.

272. Price, On fencing at The Woodlands, undated but probably 1858. It is interesting to note that Jefferson and Hamilton were discussing "Thorn for Hedges." See Jefferson to Hamilton, Washington, 1 March 1808. Also Eli K. Price undoubtedly knew of the use of thorn hedges since his father, Philip Price:

Among the leading farmers of his day, introduced the Washington Thorn into Chester County [PA], where for half a century [since 1836] it has been not only a useful hedge, but one of the most characteristic features of the landscape.

Quoted from J. T. Rothrock, "Biographical Memoir of the late Honorable Eli K. Price, LL. D.," read before the American Philosophical Society, 19 November 1886.

273. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1854.

274. Minutes WCC, 1 November 1853.

275. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

276. Ibid. See also Sears, Sacred Places, 115.

277. Minutes WCC, 5 June 1854.

278. "Local Affairs, The Cemeteries of Philadelphia," The Ledger, 26 July 1871.

279. "Woodlands Gate Pillars Removed," The Evening Bulletin, 23 May 1936. See also "City's Newest Street By-passing Traffic to Convention Hall Has Its Obstacles," the Evening Ledger 30 April 1936.

280. Minutes WCC, 21 February 1855.

281. Minutes WCC, 2 April 1850.

282. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, n. d. January 1851.

283. Minutes WCC, 19 October 1850.

284. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852.

285. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, n. d. January 1851.

286. "To The Public," The Charter WCC, 3.

287. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

288. "The Woodland Cemetery," unknown publication, 363. The two page article is in the Campbell Collection, Vol. 19. HSP.

289. Wolf, Philadelphia, 161.

290. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852.

291. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

292. Warner, Private City, 155.
293. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 54.
294. First Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, 26.
295. Downing, Landscape Gardening, 374.
296. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.
297. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
298. Minutes WCC, 5 May 1852.
299. Ibid, 8 October 1858.
300. Ibid, 5 December 1854.
301. Ibid, 2 June 1857.
302. Ibid.
303. Ibid, 7 July 1857.
304. Ibid, 7 June 1864.
305. Ibid.
306. Ibid, 5 March 1867.
307. Ibid, 12 March 1867.
308. Ibid, 18 March 1843.
309. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852.
310. Minutes WCC, 1 May 1866.
311. Ibid, 1 February 1870.
312. Ibid, 1 October 1867. See also George W. Childs, The Public Ledger Building (Philadelphia: The Public Ledger, 1868), 200.
313. "Local Affairs, The Cemeteries of Philadelphia," The Ledger, 26 July 1871.

314. Childs, The Public Ledger Building, 202-203.

315. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.

316. Ibid.

317. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

318. [Andrew Jackson Downing], "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens," Horticulturist 4 (July 1849): 10.

319. First Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, 26.

320. Charles S. Keyser, Lemon Hill and Fairmount Park, 1856-1872 (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, 1886) 3.

321. Ester M. Klein, Fairmount Park (Bryn Mawr, PA: Harcum Junior College Press, 1974), 5.

322. First Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, 18.

323. Futhey & Cope, History of Chester County, 698.

324. First Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, 18.

325. Ibid, 11.

326. Ibid, 33.

327. Price, "Journal," 1 July 1876.

328. Ibid.

329. Second Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, 7-8.

CONCLUSION ENDNOTES

1. Minutes WCC, 18 March 1843.
2. Ibid, 25 February 1843.
3. William Ellery Channing, "Lectures on the Elevation of the Labouring Portion of the Community" (Boston, 1840), 64. Quoted in Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 62.
4. "An Act to Incorporate WCC," 13 April 1840, in The Charter WCC, 5.
5. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 59.
6. "An Act to Incorporate WCC," 13 April 1840, in The Charters WCC, 3. See also Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
7. Schuyler, "The Didactic Landscape: Rural Cemeteries," in The New Urban Landscape. See also Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849. In addition see Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852.
8. Etlin, "Pere Lachaise," 214.
9. "To The Public," in The Charter WCC, 4.
10. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 June 1847.
11. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 June 1847.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.
15. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.
16. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 June 1847.
17. Pennsylvania Gazette, 23 August 1802.

18. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 14 June 1803, Smith MSS. See also Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 1 February 1804, Smith MSS.

19. Mease, The Picture of Philadelphia, 348.

20. Jefferson to Hamilton, Monticello, 7 May 1809, Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

21. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852 and Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

22. Minutes WCC, 25 February 1843. See also Price, "Report of Committee to visit Mount Auburn," in The Charter WCC, 14.

23. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 14 June 1803, Smith MSS. See also Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 31 December 1849.

24. Hamilton to Smith, The Woodlands, 14 June 1803, Smith MSS. See also Samuel Haines survey of The Woodlands for James Hamilton, October 1813, T. Cadwalader MSS. The Free Library of Philadelphia, 40th Street Branch holds a hand drafted copy of Hamilton Village with names of the lot holders written in. The F. J. Roberts, Plan of the City of Philadelphia (1838) indicates the multiple lots set aside for institutions.

25. John R. Stilgoe, Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 136.

26. Price, Managers to Stockholders WCC, 1 January 1853.

27. Ibid.

28. Warner, Private City, 155.

29. Futhey and Cope, History of Chester County, 697.

30. Price, Journal, 26 October 1884. See also "Hon. Eli K. Price," in the West Chester Local News, 20 July 1879.

Mr. Price has long been known by reputation to our people as a leading representative citizen and lawyer of Philadelphia, among the very foremost in effecting the consolidation of that great city, and

in promoting and establishment and adornment of her magnificent park, and the success of the Centennial Exhibition, besides many other noteworthy things.

31. Rothrock, "Biographical Memoir of the late Honorable Eli K. Price, LL. D.," 19.
32. Hamilton to Parke, London, 1 December 1784, Society MSS, and Hamilton to Parke, London, 24 September 1785, Dreer MSS.
33. Hamilton to Parke, London, 2 November 1785, Dreer MSS.
34. Hamilton to Yeates, Bush Hill, 13 September 1787, Yeates MSS.
35. Hamilton to Smith, London, 30 September 1785, Smith MSS.
36. [Downing], "A Talk about Public Parks and Gardens," 154-156, quoted in Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 65.
37. Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape, 77
38. Keyser, Lemon Hill and Fairmount Park 1856-1872, 3-6. See also Leighton, American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century, 190. In addition see Thomas Bender, Toward An Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America (Reprint, Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982) 172-179.
39. First Annual Report of the Commissioners of Fairmount Park, 18.
40. Ibid, 33.
41. Ibid, 12.
42. Ibid, 29-30.
43. "Fairmount Park: A Necessity for the Health and Recreation of the Present and Future Population of the City," The Evening Telegraph, 16 September 1872.
44. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852.
45. Oldschool, "The Woodlands," 507.

46. "Hon. Eli K. Price," West Chester Local News, 20 July 1879. See also Rothrock, "Biographical Memoir," 20.

47. Price, Journal, 1 July 1876. On 5 November 1876, Eli Kirk Price made an additional journal entry that expands upon his earlier notation.

I have had great success in collecting acorns and tree seeds for the Park; and have also prepared a supply of them for four of the Colonies of Australia and the Philipine Islands. I shall make report of the matters to the Park Commission and to the American Philosophical Society.

I am engaged in an effort to save to the Park all the rare trees and woody plants in the Horticultural Hall garden. It will cost about six thousand dollars at low prices.

Eli Kirk Price was not only following in the footsteps of Hamilton, by saving and exporting tree seeds but continuing what had been a Pennsylvania Quaker tradition.

48. Price, Journal, unidentified newspaper clipping dated 3 March 1881. Two subtitles within the article are "Michaux Botanical Lectures" and "History of the Free Lectures delivered by Prof. Rothrock in the Park." The Quotation is from the latter.

49. J. T. Rothrock, "On the Growth of the Forestry Idea in Pennsylvania," in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 32, 143 (1893): 335.

50. Rothrock, "Biographical Memoir," 28.

51. Price, "Trees for the Fairmount Park," (n. d.). The Announcement is mentioned in E. K. Price's Journal entry 9 June 1876 and inserted on the Journal's following page.

52. Rothrock, "Biographical Memoir," 28-29.

53. Ibid, 29. See also Price, "Sylviculture," read before the American Philosophical Society, November 16 and December 7, 1877.

54. Ibid.

55. Rothrock, "On the Growth of the Forestry Idea in Pennsylvania, 335.

56. Price, Executive Minutes WCC, 30 June 1847.

57. Ibid.

58. Price, Journal, 26 October 1880.

59. Ibid, 7 June 1881.

60. "Dr. John T. Rothrock," in the West Chester Local News, 25 June 1881.

61. University of Pennsylvania Trustee Minutes, 1 December 1870, A 11-37. University of Pennsylvania Archives. (Hereafter cited as UPA).

62. "General statement," the University of Pennsylvania Catalogue and Announcement, 1884, 4. UPA.

63. "The Sale of a Portion of the Almshouse Property to the University of Pennsylvania," in The Ledger, 17 January 1882.

64. University of Pennsylvania Trustee Minutes, 4 January 1884, A 12.106. UPA.

65. Joseph Trimble Rothrock to Eli K. Price, West Chester, 11 and 20 April 1884.

66. John T. Faris, Old Gardens in and about Philadelphia and Those Who made Them (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1932), 175.

67. Price, Managers to Corporators WCC, 3 January 1852.

68. [Rothrock] "The Botanic Garden," in Handbook of Information Concerning the School of Biology (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1889), 55-56.

69. Downing, Landscape Gardening, 9, and Francois Andre Michaux quoted in Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 873.

70. Minutes WCC, 2 December 1884.

71. Ibid.

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1. See Appendix for other books in William Hamilton's library that were sold at auction in 1920. Henkel's Auction Catalogue. HSP, Philadelphia, PA. 1920.
2. See Appendix for a report by Beatrice Kirkbride suggesting items in the private collection of Marian Carson.

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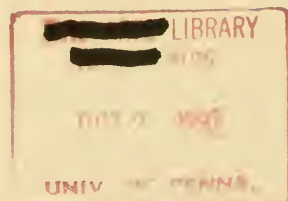
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